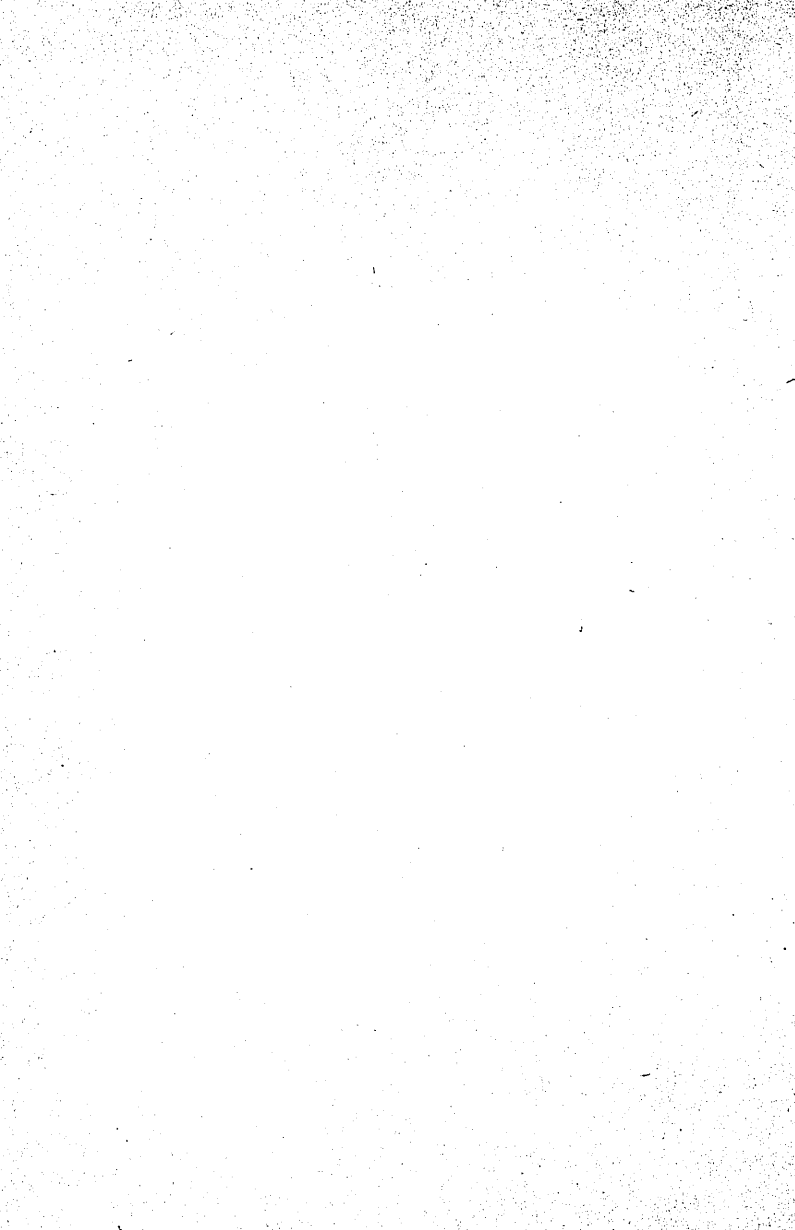


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**THE LIFE OF
BLESSED JOHN SOUTHWORTH**



THE ARMS OF THE SOUTHWORTH FAMILY

The Life of
Blessed John Southworth

Priest and Martyr

BY

ALBERT B. PURDIE

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Almae Matris

To you, O dear giver,
I give your own giving.

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PREFACE

WHEN I set myself to the task of writing this Life of Blessed John Southworth, I hoped that a large amount of material would be forthcoming and that I would be able to portray the successive stages in the career of our martyr with some completeness. I have been cheated of this hope, partly by the apparently real dearth of records, partly by the lack of time and opportunity to extend my researches as widely as I should have liked. As a result this book must be regarded rather as a stimulus to further and more extended inquiry, than as the last word on the life of the martyr. There are probably many interesting facts relating to Blessed John Southworth in private archives and public papers unnoticed by me, which the publication of the present volume may be the means of eliciting.

In the events that followed the discoveries at Douay in the summer of 1927, I played a personal part, and I have given in the last chapter a fairly circumstantial account of what took place. Some of this matter was published in the *Tablet* at the time, and is reproduced here with only slight re-arrangement and expansion.

In various parts of the book I have expressed my obligation to the many friends who have

helped me. I owe a special word of thanks to His Eminence the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster for his constant interest and encouragement, to Monsignor Canon Edward Myers for his ready help and counsel, and to Fr. C. Newdigate, S.J., Vice-Postulator of the Cause of Beatification, who has very kindly assisted me in numerous ways. Among my friends in France, M. de Bailliencourt was conspicuous for the whole-hearted enthusiasm he displayed in all the steps that were taken to preserve the martyr's body and to secure its restoration to England. At home, I have to thank the officials of the Public Record Office, the British Museum and the Westminster Guildhall Library for the facilities they gave me to conduct various researches.

For the drawing of the Arms of the Southworth family I am indebted to two of our boys here in the Class of Poetry, D. Britt-Compton and D. Mills-Thomas, while Desmond Measures, of the Class of Rhetoric, has given kind assistance in the making of transcripts, the correcting of proofs and the compiling of the Index. It is to be observed that in the spelling of 'Douay,' I have adhered to a tradition that persisted throughout the long history of the English College. The French form, 'Douai,' is used when special circumstances demand.

ALBERT B. PURDIE.

CHALLONER HOUSE,
ST. EDMUND'S COLLEGE,
December 15, 1929.

INTRODUCTION

THE name of John Southworth will always hold a special place in the long list of the Blessed Martyrs who gave their lives for the preservation of the Faith of the Catholic Church in England. Of all those English Secular Priests who were martyred with such barbarous cruelty at Tyburn, of him alone do we possess the mortal remains. It was to the interest of the persecutor that their mangled and dismembered bodies should be scattered to the winds, treated with every kind of ignominy, and forgotten as soon as possible.

In the case of John Southworth, Providence intervened and has treasured for us the body which his soul made the instrument of heroic deeds of constancy, and of a glorious end. It is, at the same time, a lasting witness to the savage hatred shown by Protestant bigotry in those days to the champions of Catholic truth ; a witness of special importance in these days when there is a tendency to gloss over the essential difference between Catholic and Protestant. When John Southworth lived and toiled and died, the difference was clearly known and fully acknowledged. In the case of every one of our Martyrs it is evident that, had they been willing to call them-

selves Protestants and give up the name of Catholic, to abjure the Mass and accept the Protestant 'Communion Service,' none would have been brought to trial for treason, or put to death as a traitor. The issue was a purely religious one, and the charge of treason a miserable subterfuge, devoid of proof of any kind, whereby Englishmen, than whom none were ever more loyal to their country, were doomed to death because they were determined to give to God the things that are God's whilst they gave all allegiance to Cæsar in the things that are truly Cæsar's.

Father Purdie is the fully accredited witness of the finding in Douay, and of the bringing to England, of the body of the holy Martyr. With great care he has compiled the record of his life. In so doing he merits the thanks of all those, both Catholics and Protestants, who are desirous of knowing the real history of the religious changes in England.

FRANCIS CARDINAL BOURNE,
Archbishop of Westminster.

Feast of Blessed Cuthbert Maine,
Proto-martyr of Douay College.
November 29, 1929.

ELEGIACS

COMPOSED BY A MINISTER ON THE OCCASION OF THE
MARTYRDOM OF JOHN SOUTHWORTH

Relligio in varias serpit (modo mobilis) Hydras,
Dum colit idolum quisque Deumque suum.
Nullus ibi Deus est, ubi multitudo Deorum ;
Relligio varia religione perit.
Martyr erat, vindex quia religionis avitae,
Unica quæ nobis ducta per aeva fuit.
Huic Deus afflavit, sonuitque tonibrubus aer,
Fulgure martyrrium testificante suum.
In pluviam versus lachrimarum est imber obortus,
Athleta ut maneat fortis agone suo.
Claviger ingressum caelis dabat almus apertis,
Quippe fide et feriis gestit obisse suis.

BLESSED JOHN SOUTHWORTH

I

EARLY LIFE

1592-1613

BISHOP CHALLONER says that John Southworth was born in Lancashire in the year 1592, and that he was a younger son of the ancient family of the Southworths of Samlesbury. His exact place in the pedigree of this famous family must, I am afraid, remain obscure.

Originally of Southworth and Croft, in the parish of Winnick, co. Lancaster, the Southworths obtained the manor of Samlesbury in the fourteenth century with the heiress of the D'Evyas family, which in like manner acquired it through the marriage a century earlier of Cicely de Samlesbury with Sir John D'Evyas.¹

¹ The genealogy is worked out (pp. 9-11) in a *Topographical Account of the Higher Hall in Samlesbury, formerly the seat of the knightly family of the Southworths, now converted into an inn called the 'Bradyll Arms.'* (Preston, Peter Whittle, Fishergate). No date. Copy in Brit. Mus. The family arms were : Sable, a cheveron between three cross crosslets argent. A bull's head crazed sable, attired argent. Motto : *Fides, Spes, Caritas.*

This was one of the many staunch Catholic households that helped to keep the faith alive in England throughout the terrible days of the Elizabethan persecution. Sir John Southworth, who had been knighted (1547) in Mary's reign, was one of its most glorious representatives, and it is said of him that no layman suffered more in fines and imprisonment for the cause of religion. He was High Sheriff of Lancashire in 1562; six years later he was delivered to the keepers of the gaol at Salford, and was detained in prison some two years. He died in 1595. Fines and sequestration slowly exhausted the family resources: the extensive estates were gradually parted with, and by 1679 even Samlesbury Hall itself passed by sale into other hands.

The following is from an account of an inventory 'of superstitious things found in Sir John Southworth's¹ house at Samlesbury, by Richard Brereton, Lord Chief Justice, on November 21, 1592':

Imprimis one canopy to hang over the altar, found in a vault over the drawing-room; two brass candlesticks, after a superstitious fashion; fourteen images of various fashions; procured from a vault. . . . Item—Eleven books of papistry found in a chamber. Item—Found thirteen books of papistry, that is to say, a Rheims Testament; An Apology for the English Seminaries; A defence for the Censure upon the Rev. Edmund Campion's two books; A Treatise on Schism; A Discourse of John Nicholls; all the rest of the books are in manu-

¹ Some letters of Sir John's may be read in Peck's *Desiderata Curiosa*.

script. . . . One Wright, servant to Sir John de Southworth, was examined and gave for answer that he had not seen in the House at Samlesbury for the space of five years last past, any Jesuit or Seminary priest, and that for the space of fourteen years saith, that he had not seen any unknown person or stranger in his master's house.

This Sir John had a son, John, who went to the English College at Rheims in 1583, apparently with the intention of becoming a priest: he received the Tonsure and Minor Orders in the following year, but left at the end of 1584, being thrown into prison immediately on his arrival in England.¹ Another son, Christopher, was also at Rheims, which he left for Rome, where he was ordained in 1583: he was sent on the English Mission in 1586, quickly arrested and destined to spend many years in prison. Eventually he was released and in 1612 was ministering at Samlesbury Hall, where there was a Chapel regularly served. There were other branches of the family that contributed many of their members to the Church and most of them received their training at Douay College.² They were not immediate relations of John Southworth, the martyr, although there is plenty of evidence to show that they claimed kinship with him.

Of the parents of our martyr or their state in life we know nothing: we shall catch a passing

¹*Second Douay Diary*, pp. 193, 198, 202. See also *Cath. Record Society*, Vol. VI, p. 158, where it is implied that this John was ordained priest at Rheims. There is no record of this in the *Douay Diary*.

² See Oliver's *Collections*, p. 413.

glimpse of the father when John was in prison at Lancaster and his friend Father Arrowsmith was being hurried to execution—that is all.

We have John's own word for it that he 'was brought up in the truly ancient Roman Catholic Apostolic religion,' and can ignore any implication that his family had at one time fallen from the faith.¹

That there were 'occasional conformists' even in Lancashire which on the whole clung desperately to the Faith, cannot be gainsaid, and it will not be amiss to give Allen's account of a state of affairs which he found there in the years 1563–1565, when John's father would have been a mere boy. Allen had not yet begun the great work of his life at Douay, and was not yet in Orders; but he was even then aflame with zeal for souls, and after a dangerous illness spent a period of convalescence in his native county, fortifying the faith of others. Speaking of his efforts to get Catholics to abstain altogether from the communion, churches, sermons, books and all spiritual communication with heretics, he

¹ In a letter, dated 1628 (*Westminster Archives*, XXII, 671), from Rev. William Hart (Prefect of Studies at Douay at the time) to the famous Thomas Blacklow (White), then the Clergy Agent in Rome, we read: 'There was one Mr. John Lee, perhaps you know him, who in his younger days, before he was a Catholic, had committed some such fact as taking silver which was none of his (whether it was coined or plot I am not certain).' In the light of John Southworth's statement in his Dying Speech, we must discount Hart's remark. 'Lee' was certainly Southworth's *alias*, but there were many Lees at Douay, and Hart has probably attached his story to the wrong one.

says that it was 'a most difficult thing to obtain in that country, because of the iniquitous laws, and the punishment of imprisonment, as well as other penalties, which it entails, and also because those who were in other respects Catholics had already through fear, given way to such an extent in this matter, that not only laymen who believed the faith in their hearts and heard Mass at home when they could, frequented the schismatical churches and ceremonies (some even communicating in them), but many priests said Mass secretly and celebrated the heretical offices and supper in public, thus becoming partakers often on the same day (O horrible impiety) of the chalice of the Lord and the chalice of devils. And this arose from the false persuasion that it was enough to hold the faith interiorly while obeying the sovereign in externals, especially in singing psalms and parts of scripture in the vulgar tongue, a thing which seemed to them indifferent, and, in persons otherwise virtuous, worthy of toleration on account of the terrible rigour of the laws. Wherefore at the beginning many people blamed those on our side for over much severity, because we said that this practice was by no means permissible to Catholics.'¹

A recent historian² is of opinion that this period 1563-1570, about which Allen writes, was the low-water mark of Catholicism in this

¹ MS., English College, Rome. Quoted by Knox in *Introd. to First and Second Douay Diaries*. 1878.

² Meyer, *England and the Catholic Church under Queen Elizabeth*. 1916.

country, and that it was then that the severest losses to the Faith were felt. The harassed Catholics looked in vain for help from Rome¹ and Spain: at home they were left without any organized spiritual supervision, without any bond of union with their Church, and it was at this time especially that many tried to salve their consciences by conforming outwardly and in part: others went further and even received the Protestant communion 'without inward participation.' And if some priests themselves made this distinction between inward belief and outward obedience, as Allen admits, it is little wonder that the bewildered laity went the same way: and it is easy to see how in many cases this outward compliance with the law might gradually result in actual membership in the national church. Many, too, no doubt argued to themselves that the existing change of the national religion was no more likely to be lasting than the two which had preceded it. It is to the greater credit and honour of families like the Southworths that in face of these dangerous temptations they remained loyal and steadfast to their holy religion. Later the issue was made quite clear and the duty of Catholics explicitly expounded and insisted upon: this led to a better state of things, to which Allen refers in the same letter: 'afterwards, however, by persevering diligence,

¹ 'Who would ever have believed that until now (1570) the Roman Court would have done so little to win back this island which has always been so faithful?' *Anonymous Discourse* (Vat. Arch.), quoted by Meyer, p. 67.

we so completely overcame this difficulty that no one is any longer regarded as a genuine Catholic capable of absolution, who does not altogether refrain from every appearance of evil in regard to communication with heretics. And whereas in the judgement of many worldly-wise men this strict enforcement of ecclesiastical discipline seemed likely to lessen greatly the number of Catholics, the Lord God has shown by the experience of a few years the contrary to be true. For we have now more confessors and genuine Catholics than with all our indulgence and connivance we then had concealed Christians : a class of men, moreover, whose inward faith would have furthered neither their own salvation nor that of others, while their outward example would have led many to ruin ; and thus, without giving a thought to the damnable sin of schism, or to the restoration of the true religion, but flattering themselves with their goodwill and pleading in excuse for their unlawful acts the Sovereign's laws, they would have plunged themselves and theirs, unrepentant, into the miserable abyss of destruction.

Beyond the general indications already given there is nothing known of the early life of John Southworth until the year 1613, when at the age of twenty-one he decided to give himself to the Church, and crossed the sea to Douay College. Of that great establishment and of the future martyr's life there we shall have occasion to speak in the next chapter. Before we do so, it will be well to give a brief review of the religious

situation as it developed under Elizabeth and James I.

In the first twelve years of her reign the Queen and her ministers went to work very cautiously in the application of the penal statutes against her Catholic subjects.¹ Their attitude was no doubt determined by the political situation of Europe, and it was a situation that played largely into their hands. The attempted extermination of Catholicism and the consolidation of Protestantism was in the beginning a gradual process,—almost a drift, but a drift carefully controlled by the sovereign and her government. Had Philip of Spain and the Roman Court acted energetically at the outset, with less of an eye to political intrigue and royal matchmaking, had the simple and credulous Philip any wit to see through the studied dissimulation of Elizabeth,² then he might have been the instrument that could have saved Catholicism in England. Rome waited behind him and launched a Bull of Excommunication when it was powerless to hurt anyone in the realm except the oppressed Catholics.³ That was in 1579. Already the Acts of 1559 and 1563

¹ See among other evidence of this, the admission of some Secular priests in 1601: 'Important Considerations,' quoted by Berington in his Introduction to Panzani's *Memoirs*.

² She puzzled the Spaniards completely. One ambassador (Feria) describes her as 'a daughter of the devil,' and another (Quadra) says: 'this woman must have a hundred devils in her body, notwithstanding that she is for ever telling me that she yearns to be a nun and to pass her time in a cell praying'!

³ Whom, however, in some cases it strengthened in the Faith,

had revived the anti-Catholic statutes of Henry VIII and Edward VI, striking hard at the jurisdiction of the Pope: after the Excommunication, England was strong enough to stand alone and could make the religious question more than ever a political issue. Prior to it, the Northern Rebellion and the pretensions of Mary Queen of Scots had helped to harden a fluid Protestantism into something of a national patriotism. And so the next two decades marked the worst period of the persecution, which flamed into fresh fury at every challenge made by the Catholic Church, for example, after the arrival of the first Douay missionaries in 1574, after the commencement of the Jesuit mission in 1580, and after the expedition of the Armada in 1588.¹

We need not here repeat the details of the sanguinary legislation that sent some hundred and thirty priests to the gallows and ground the laity² to the dust by oppression, imprisonment and fines. The story of all that sacrifice is one of our proudest possessions to-day. The Catholic had become an outcast, and the last of Elizabeth's Acts (1593) took away from him the liberty of moving about freely in his own country, and robbed Catholic parents of the right of educating their own children. After 1595, the persecution relaxed,³ and the glorious picture of heroic

¹ The Irish Rebellion of 1579 also aggravated the persecution.

² Careful study of statistics shows that there were some 100,000 Catholic laity in Elizabeth's reign.

³ See Abp. Bancroft's explanation of this, cited in Butler's *Memoirs of the Catholics*, Vol. II, p. 90. 'This conduct had

struggle and faithfulness unto death faded into the ugly shadows of bitter dispute and heart-rending animosity, dividing the small Catholic body into contending factions. It were idle to make any attempt to describe or adjudicate upon all the points of quarrel between the Jesuits and Secular priests. Out of a mass of recrimination emerges the clamour of the latter for the organization of the Catholic clergy in England. In 1596 it is said there were some three hundred Secular priests working in England and about a dozen Jesuits.¹ The Seculars wanted one form of organization,² the Jesuits another, and it was the latter who prevailed when Rome appointed an 'archpriest,' and one favourable to the Jesuit interest, George Blackwell. Controversy raged round this unfortunate man, and one more unfortunate behind him, the famous Father Persons: there were appeals and counter-appeals to Rome, a war of pamphlets, violent personal abuse and lastly and almost incomprehensibly, an effort on the part of the Secular clergy to

been adopted by Her Majesty's ministers because they could not foresee what would take place at her decease . . . if the wrath of heaven should then place a Popish king on the throne, he might retaliate on the Protestants that persecution which they had inflicted on the Catholics during the reign of Her Majesty.'

¹ Meyer, *op. cit.*, p. 408. Before the end of the century there were sixteen Jesuits in the country. See Morris' *Troubles of our Catholic Forefathers*, 1st Series, p. 191.

² They asked for the restoration of an ecclesiastical hierarchy in the government of bishops, 'which bishops should be elected by the common consent of the clergy and appointed by them to different districts.' *Declaratio Motuum*, 1601, cited by Berington, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

curry the favour and support of the English government.¹ Where the tactlessness of either side might have led, it is difficult to imagine, but Elizabeth's death in 1603 for the moment stayed the danger. The sad side to all these internal broils is that the penal statutes were still in force: the prisons were full, and between 1598-1602 twenty priests and ten layfolk suffered for the Catholic faith.

The hopes that Catholics entertained on the advent of James I to the throne were quickly dissipated. The statutes against Jesuits and Seminary priests were re-enforced at once, to be followed by a Proclamation banishing all missionary priests from the country. The new sovereign, however, was not out for blood: he regarded the victimization of his Popish subjects rather as a ready means of getting money: the arrears of fines due for recusancy were collected with great vigour, and James could claim that he secured as much as £36,000 per annum from that source. The Gunpowder Plot brought fresh and lasting odium to the Catholic name;² in the new Oath of Allegiance that followed, with its attack on the deposing power of the Pope, a fresh

¹ See *Protestation of Allegiance* of the Thirteen Priests (1602) given by Butler, op. cit., p. 56. Elizabeth, of course, enjoyed the division in the ranks of her enemies, and it can hardly be thought that she ever intended to fulfil any of the hopes that she held out to the spokesmen of the Secular clergy.

² Eighteen priests and seven laymen suffered death: a hundred and twenty priests were banished: £20 per month was exacted with the utmost rigour from every Catholic who did not attend the services of the Established Church.

bone of contention was cast among the distracted Catholics. Some hold that it was devised to split up further their already divided ranks, but the King was perhaps innocent¹ of such an intention. At any rate the archpriest, Blackwell, subscribed to the Oath, incurred the displeasure of Rome and was deprived of his office (1608).

He was succeeded by George Birkhead, who was given power to deprive all priests who had taken the Oath and who refused to make satisfactory amendment and repentance. According to him, of the three hundred priests scattered throughout England only twenty had accepted the Oath. He died in 1614, and one of his last acts was to implore the Sovereign Pontiff 'that his successor might be a man attached to the interests of the clergy, and that the jurisdiction conferred on him might be of that more dignified and independent character, which alone could support religion and maintain subordination among its members.'

He was followed in the office of archpriest by William Harrison, whom Rome also regarded as a fit person to become bishop in the event of the restoration of the episcopate in England. He guided his flock for six years (1615-1621), and secured peace among his people: and he, too, before his death urged the Holy See to nominate a bishop for England.

¹ See James' own words, that the Oath was designed 'to make a separation between so many of my subjects, who though they were otherwise popishly affected, yet retained, in their hearts, the print of their natural duty to their sovereign.'

The political outlook had by then changed, and the contemplated marriage-treaty between Charles Prince of Wales and the Infanta of Spain, made it easier for the Holy See to accede to the long-solicited demand of the Secular priests of England.

In 1623 William Bishop was declared Bishop-Elect of Chalcedon and appointed Vicar-Apostolic of England.

Retracing our steps a little, we can from different sources gather a few impressions of the Lancashire scene in which the boyhood of John Southworth was set. There were many great houses and halls scattered up and down the county where missionary priests could find a temporary refuge, say Mass for their eager flock, preach the word of God, administer the Sacraments, instruct the ignorant and reconcile the lapsed. Memories of great missionaries like Fr. Edmund Campion were still fresh in the minds of the Catholics and were a source of pride and consolation: as late as 1660 they still talked of his stirring sermons on the Hail Mary, the Ten Lepers, on the King who went a Journey, and on the Last Judgment, and the story was preserved among them of the great crowds that flocked to hear him and how persons of quality would spend whole nights in neighbouring barns so that they might be early next day at the appointed place.¹ John would have heard from his own father how the Government got nervous of Fr. Campion's activity and influence, and became more energetic

¹ *Haydock Papers*, p. 22.

in the application of the law : how the good priest was nearly caught at Blainscough Hall but was saved by a maid-servant, who in affected anger pushed him into a pond and in that way effectually disguised him ! How at last he was apprehended, and with him many of the heads of the great houses in Lancashire, including old John Southworth of Samlesbury Hall.

There were schools, too, in the district, where Catholic children could get the rudiments of an education, without having their religion molested. Such an one was the Grammar School at Senely Green (built 1587) which Edmund Arrowsmith frequented, leaving sacred memories behind him. It is related of him that he used to recite the Little Hours of Our Lady's Office on his way to school with his brothers, and her Vespers and Compline on the way home.¹ It is probable that John Southworth received his first education there as well. That would be about the year 1602, when the persecution was less intense, and Catholics could move a little more openly. They were never indeed free from the attentions of spies, pursuivants and informers—reptilian creatures, whom the stout-hearted folk of Lancashire often treated in summary and merry fashion. Actually there is a State Document of this very year 1602² which makes healthy reading : 'Also they in Lancashire and those parts stand not in fear, by reason of the great

¹ *Forgotten Shrines*. Dom. Bede Camm, p. 187.

² Public Record Office. *Dom. Eliz.*, vol. cclxxxxii, A. 86. See Foley's *Records*, Vol. III, pp. 790, 791.

multitude there is of them. Likewise I have heard it reported publicly among them that they of that county have beaten divers pursuivants extremely, and made them vow and swear that they would never meddle with any recusants more, and one pursuivant in particular to *eat his warrant*, and vow never to trouble them more.'

This story of the pursuivant who was forced to eat his warrant is a true one, and the hero of the piece was Geoffrey Pole, grandson of the Countess of Salisbury, who suffered under Henry VIII. This young man must have been the idol of the Lancashire Catholics: 'he was a brave and courageous gentleman, a most constant Catholic, a harbourer of priests, and one who being strong in hand would beat the pursuivants and catchpoles so handsomely that they stood in great fear of him. Once a pursuivant being sent down to serve a writ upon him for his conscience (being a recusant) it chanced that the pursuivant, (who did not know him by sight), met him upon the road; so riding on together the fellow began to speak about Mr. Geoffrey Pole, saying thus: "He's a shrod man of his hands, for he did beat a brother of mine; but I have something here, I warrant, that will cool his courage;" and then he told how he brought a writ for him. The gentleman heard all and said nothing who he was, but entertained the pursuivant with talk, and rode on together with him in a fit place, and then said he unto him: "Here is Geoffrey Pole, what hast thou to say to him?" The fellow pulled out his writ, and said (as the manner is) "The Queen

greet you"—(for it was in Elizabeth's reign). He, hearing this, made no more ado, but drew out his sword, and said: "Look here, fellow, I give thee thy choice—either eat up this writ presently, or else eat my sword, for one of the two thou shalt do ere we depart hence!" The poor knave began to quake for fear, and durst not once resist him, but like a coward was wholly daunted, and did indeed eat up the writ for fear, rather than he would be killed. So became the writ of no effect, except to punish the pursuivant for his pains. Having an aunt of his married unto an heretical bishop he would play them such merry tricks in contempt of that false dignity, as, when he chanced to ride by their house, he would blow a horn and shoot off a pistol for to give them a mock. Such like good feats did this worthy gentleman perform, and showed always his zeal unto Catholic religion; but at last the parsons made the country too hot for him, for he did often confute and deride them; and so he went over the seas into voluntary banishment, where he died a constant Catholic at Antwerp.¹

It is comforting to think that the vile crew of Government agents occasionally received the treatment they merited. Sometimes, too, in Lancashire, the Justices would take sides against them and hinder their action till they had time to warn a recusant that a search was about to be made of him and his property.

¹ From a MS. in the English Convent, Bruges. Foley, loc. cit.

But frequently enough the law had the better of the hunted Catholic, and many found their way to the prison of the Assize town, Lancaster, where they would wait trial at the hands of the Judges on circuit. John Southworth was not too young to have missed the commotion created by the martyrdom of Robert Nutter and Edward Thwing in 1600, and of Thurstan Hunt and Robert Middleton in 1601, and probably knew and sung the Ballad that was made about them. Fathers Nutter and Thwing went to the gallows with as much cheerfulness and joy as if they were going to a feast, to the astonishment of the spectators¹; Father Hunt was arrested when attempting with some others to rescue a priest whom the officers were carrying to prison; Father Middleton was a missionary in Lancashire and was apprehended about the same time. All four were loved by the people, gallant in their lives and gallant in their deaths. The Ballad to which we refer is extant in the British Museum², and is entitled—‘A songe of four priestes that suffered death at Lancaster, to the tune of “Daintie come thou to me.”’ The Ballad contains thirty-three verses and no doubt was widely circulated and well-known in Lancashire: we give a short extract:

In this our English coast
Much blessed blood is shed.
Two hundred priestes almost
In our time marttered.

¹ Challoner.

² *Addit. MSS.* 15225.

And manie lay men dye
 With joyful sufferance.
 Manie moe in prison lye
 God's cause for to advance.

Amongst this gracious troupe,
 That follow Christ his traine,
 To cause the devil stoupe,
 Four priests were latlie slaine,
 Nutter's bould constantie
 With his sweete fellow Thwinge
 Of whose most meeke modestie
 Angells and saints may singe.

Hunte's hawtie corage staut,
 With godlie zeale soe true
 Myld Middleton, Oh what
 Tonge can halfe thy virtue shew:
 At Lancaster lovingly
 These martyrs tooke their end.
 In glorious victorie
 Their faith for to defend.

And thus hath Lancashire
 Offered you sacrifice
 To daunt their lewde desyre
 And please our Saviour's eies,
 For by his meanes I trust,
 Truth shall have victorie,
 When as that number just
 Of such Saints compleat bee.

By 1611, when John had reached the age of nineteen and was already thinking of the priesthood, Lancashire like other parts was feeling the stress of the renewed persecution of James I. A

letter written this year by Fr. Edward Coffin, S.J., witnesses to the disappointment that Catholics experienced in regard to that monarch: 'The King meditates the extermination of all Catholics; the prisons are everywhere crammed; the Catholics hide themselves in caves and holes of the earth, and others fly before the face of the persecutors into these parts. An infinite number of pursuivants riotously pass through every county of England, and it is incredible to tell how they harass and afflict the most innocent men; for, entering the houses and lands, they carry off everything—beds, tables, covers, clothes, chests, trunks, and especially money. If they find the master of the house, they thrust the infamous oath of supremacy upon him, and if he refuses to take it, they carry him off to the nearest gaol; there in poverty and chains, in darkness and squalor, in hunger and nakedness—*vel ducat vitam, vel animam agat*. The times of Elizabeth, although most cruel, were the mildest and happiest, in comparison to those of James.'¹

One other event of an entirely different nature occurred in Lancashire shortly before John left for Douay, and we only mention it here because he was probably struck by the sad horror of it as much as others in the neighbourhood of Lancaster, and, moreover, one bearing his family name²—a name common in those parts then as

¹ Stonyhurst MSS. *Anglia*, Vol. III, 103.

² See *Time-Honoured Lancaster*, by Cross Fleury, 1891, Chap. X, also Gee's *Foot out of the Snare* (1624), p. 57, where the name of Father Christopher Southworth is introduced into

it is to-day—was concerned in it. This was the remarkable Witch Trial in August, 1612. There were about twenty persons involved in it, and eight of them came from Samlesbury, among them being a Jane Southworth. The leader was an old woman of over eighty years of age, known as Old Mother Demdike: she professed to have met the devil, who called himself ‘Tib,’ and she said she had sold herself to him in consideration of his giving her all she desired, and she had made her daughter do the same. Another old ‘witch,’ Ann Chatterbox, confessed she had placed a bad wish upon one, Robert Nutter, and that he had died; that she had bewitched a man’s drink and made a quantity of butter from a dish of skimmed milk. The judge who tried these poor half-witted creatures was Sir Edward Bromley: about a dozen of them were acquitted and the rest executed.

Early in July, 1613, John left his native Lancashire, made for London, and shortly afterwards crossed from Dover to France.

the story; also Ewald’s *Stories from the State Papers* (1882), Vol. II, Chap. V, and Baine’s *Lancashire*.

II

LIFE AT DOUAY

1613-1619

ONE of the effects of the Elizabethan persecution was to drive Catholics from their native country to seek the free practice of their religion on a foreign soil: in the Low Countries arose a Catholic England beyond the seas.

The full story of the Catholic refugees on the Continent has been told in recent times¹, and here we are only concerned with the chiefest of their establishments, the great College of Douay, which was the mother and nurse of all the others². William Allen was attracted to Douay, like many another of the English educated classes, because of the University that had been recently (1566) founded there. It was in 1586, after a providential journey to Rome, that he embarked on the great work which has made his name famous, the establishment of an English College, to give students abroad the opportunity of collegiate training such as they might have had in their

¹ Guilday: *The English Refugees on the Continent*, 1558-1795. Longmans, 1914.

² 'Madre et nutrice di altri Collegi.' *Propaganda Arch.*

own universities at home, to form a school of learned priests capable of restoring the faith in England if circumstances should permit, and to give to English youths coming abroad the chance of instruction in their religion. The supply of missionary priests to England was not at first among Allen's intentions.

The College started in a humble fashion with some five members, three of whom were from Oxford University, which in the following years was destined to send many of its numbers to the new foundation. These men brought with them the traditions of English university and collegiate life, traditions which persevered throughout the long history of the College, maintaining its essentially English character: at the Revolution, when Douay was transferred to English soil, St. Edmund's College in the south and Ushaw in the north entered easily and naturally into the stream of English educational effort, descended as they were from origins as proud and as ancient as those of most Protestant public schools.

The College prospered rapidly, and ten years after its foundation, Allen could write in the following terms to his old friend Dr. Vendeville, who had helped him in the promotion of his plans¹:

Seeing therefore how much hope there was through Christ of gaining fruit in our island, and that so great a door was open for winning souls, we began more diligently to animate our people to the work, to procure alms from our country, to summon the choicest wits from the

¹ *English College Archives. Rome.*

universities (though many of all ranks were flocking to us of their own accord), and to instruct the comers more carefully in every part of the Christian religion, but especially in controversies. Moreover we admitted into the number of those who were maintained at the common charges of the seminary all who were students of theology or on the point of becoming such, and whom Christ had touched with the thought of taking holy orders. The rest who came, gentlemen's sons, who were studying humanities, philosophy or jurisprudence, and who either of their own accord or through the exhortations of Catholic relations and friends had been moved by the fame of the seminary to seek here a Catholic education, were kept by us in the college for a time, but at their own not the common charge, until according to their age and condition they had been duly catechised and reconciled to the church by penance for their previous life and schism. There came at the same time not a few who were simply heretics, and even heretical ministers and preachers, all of whom being moved to penance through our instructions and conversation were not only sincerely reconciled to the church, but after a year or two spent under the college discipline desired to become priests, and when they had obtained their wish zealously devoted themselves to the English harvest, one of them ending his life with a glorious martyrdom,¹ and others still labouring there with great fruit. Besides these, all who came to Douay on business with the English students (and many came for many reasons, and travellers too, on their road to France, Italy or Brabant, often turned aside to see their friends or the seminary about which there was already much talk), all these men, who were for the most part devoid of all religion, or at least schismatics, were

¹ Blessed Cuthbert Mayne. Executed at Launceston, in Cornwall, November 29, 1577.

pressed to remain a few days with us ; and many consented to do so. And if they were poor, we caused them to be kept at the college expense for thirty days, until they knew the chief heads of the Catholic religion, had learned to confess their sins properly, and were reconciled to God. Thus we acted towards many persons with great fruit ; and they returning home glorified God for the things which they had seen, and persuaded many others to leave all and come to us at Douay, or at least to come once to hear and see us, as some heretics had done. We also wrote sometimes to the more learned heretics, whom a faulty education had misled, praying them to make for once a trial of our mode of life and teaching, and promising them, so long as they remained with us, such courteous entertainment as befitted their dignity. We likewise invited from England some of the elder priests who had been ordained many years before and were labouring in the Lord's vineyard, but were insufficiently instructed for the necessities of the present time in all the duties of religion and the Church's censures.

The pecuniary needs of the College were at first met by the alms of the faithful in England and Belgium¹, but with its rapid growth and the expansion of its activities, these supplies soon proved insufficient and more reliable sources of income had to be sought. The Holy Father (Gregory XIII) came to the rescue, and in 1575 granted a monthly pension of 100 gold crowns, which at a later date he increased to 175.²

¹ Allen himself gave to the College the annual salary of 200 crowns which the University of Douay paid him as Regius Professor of Divinity.

² After 1793 this pension was divided between St. Edmund's and Ushaw. It came to an end in 1799, with the occupation of Rome.

When the future of the College and its work seemed thus assured, political disturbances in the Low Countries led to a serious depletion of the community, which in 1577 removed to Rheims, out of the dominions of Philip of Spain, who had at all times been a generous friend to the English exiles. To the College in its new home he now made an annual grant of 1600 florins.¹

Five years later the College was once more in a very flourishing state, and Allen could write the following very glowing account to the Cardinal Protector:

Though the heretics forbid anyone to come to us under pain of death, and use the greatest diligence, especially in the universities, to prevent us obtaining men of choicer wit, still since the first of March this year (1582), that is during six months, eighty students have come hither from the English universities and schools; so that in these months we have hardly ever been fewer at Rheims than two hundred, without counting many others, whom on account of their youth and because they need instruction suitable for boys, we have sent, partly at their own charges and partly at ours, to Pont-à-Mousson, Verdun, Eu, and other neighbouring schools. Moreover, we receive not only men of excellent capacity and education, but, to the great annoyance of our adversaries, many of gentle birth, and sometimes also, though their parents like it not, eldest sons, who in the very flower of their age despise both the present enjoyments which their country offers them and the future prospect of their paternal inheritance, that they become heirs in the house of the Lord, be afflicted with the people of God, and be made what in our country is the most contemptible,

¹ In 1582 he increased this to 2000 crowns.

odious and perilous of all things, priests of Christ. This in men who have never seen the church in freedom or due honour given to the priesthood is, in our judgment, little short of miraculous.

In 1593 the College returned to its old home at Douay. By that time Allen had been made a Cardinal (1587) and he was not so immediately associated with the College as heretofore: he nominated Dr. Richard Barret to be President of the College: it was not a very happy choice, and the personal influence of Allen was sorely missed. He was a born leader, of whom one of his students wrote that 'he taught his people by example, word of mouth and in every way. Everyone depended on his will like sons, and that too most readily,' and another says of the members of the College that they were 'governed and ruled by the countenance and look of one man whom all from highest to the lowest did love and highly reverence.'

It was no easy task to succeed such a man, and Barret's difficulties were further increased by a growing burden of debt, due to necessary repairs to the old Douay buildings, to the non-payment of the Spanish pension and to the stoppage of alms and fees (on account of the persecution) from England. Many of the students had to be drafted into other Colleges, and the professors went unpaid. As a consequence Barret listened to a suggestion of Father Persons that the students should be sent as externs to the Jesuit school and should also have a Jesuit confessor. This was no doubt charitably meant, but the

Seculars were jealous of their rights and independence, and this step of the President's was keenly resented by them and by the students of the College, who became very restive under Barret's rule. He died in 1599.

Under his successor, Dr. Worthington, the College entered upon a still worse period. To discuss in any detail his policy and actions would be to raise the ghosts of controversies long dead, and no useful purpose would be served¹. It is sufficient to record that the name and reputation of Douay suffered serious hurt and that eventually Dr. Worthington had to yield place to Douay's fourth President, Dr. Matthew Kellison, who was destined to restore, not without difficulty, that great house to something of its former prestige and splendour.

It was Matthew Kellison who welcomed John Southworth to the seminary on July 14th, 1613.

From the date of its foundation it was the laudable custom at Douay to inscribe in a *Diary* the events that took place in the College each day. The practice continued regularly, with only slight intermissions, and it is fortunate that we have a complete record² of the daily happenings all through the period that John Southworth was there pursuing his ecclesiastical studies. The *Diary* is a bare skeleton of events, but we can to some extent clothe it with flesh and blood.

¹ A summary of the situation will be found in the late Canon Burton's Introduction to the *Third Douay Diary* (Cath. Record Soc., Vol. X).

² *Third Douay Diary*.

The first entry¹ touching our future martyr reads as follows :

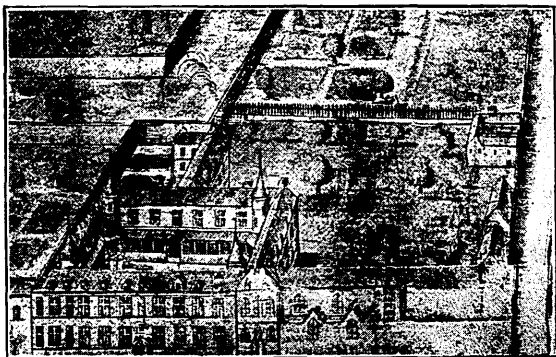
1613. die 14 Julii . . . eodem etiam die receptus est in Collegium ut convictor Joannes Southworthus Lancastrensis, hic dictus Lee.

1613. July 14th . . . on the same day also John Southworth, of Lancashire, here called Lee, was received into the College as a convictor.

The *convictiores* and *alumni* formed the two classes of students received at the College: the *alumni* were those who were supported by the papal pension, while the *convictiores* were those who were sent on burses by ecclesiastics or friends in England, or who were supported by their parents.

It was after Elizabeth's excommunication, when the English Government by means of spies, informers and traitors (who sometimes penetrated into the College itself) watched closely the Catholics living abroad, that the use of aliases began. They had become a necessary protection, and no doubt saved many from the persecutor. The custom was maintained until about 1750. The alias assumed was generally connected with the family history of the person concerned, and sometimes there was a touch of humour in the choice, as in the case of John Bush, whose alias was 'Shrub.' I have not been able to discover any special reason for the choice of the name 'Lee' on the part of John Southworth: it was a

¹ A complete list of all references in the *Diary* to John Southworth will be found in *Appendix I*.



DOUAY COLLEGE IN THE TIME OF BLESSED
JOHN SOUTHWORTH

(From an original at Douay, c. 1627.)

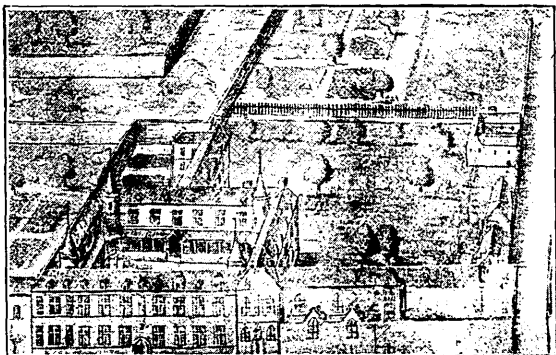
common alias at Douay. There was a Stephen Lee who arrived at the College on the same day as John, and perhaps he just took his name.

We must now consider the appearance of the buildings of the College at the time of John's entrance; we will then cast a glance at its President and explain to some extent the fashion of life that obtained there. We will then try to conjure up some picture of the students he met and certain scenes in which he played a part. We shall be able, too, to chronicle the steps by which he reached the goal of his ambitions, the priesthood and the commission to labour among the faithful in his native country.

The print shown in the text is of the College as it was partly rebuilt and enlarged (*circ.* 1603) under the Presidency of Worthington¹. It is in the form of a two-storied quadrangular building with dormer windows in the roof: at the four inner corners are low turrets with cone-shaped roofs. The Chapel carries on the frontage to the right, and gardens and outbuildings are indicated at the back. We can supplement the picture with an eye-witness's account written in 1713²: 'The College as to the building is very mean and low (excepting the Refectory, or room where they dine, which is a large and cheerful structure), but this defect is abundantly

¹ It was again rebuilt and enlarged under Dr. Witham, 1715-1735, and so endured until 1927. See p. 157.

² Dodd. *The History of the English College of Douay from its First Foundation in 1568 to the Present Time*; for the circumstances of this account, see Burton's *Challoner*, Vol. I, p. 15.



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recompensed with other conveniencies of chambers and offices for servants with a large extent of ground employed in Gardens, of which there are four in number. A private one for the President's use, a common one for the scholars, another for the students in Divinity and Masters, a fourth for the use of the Kitchen. The Church is but small proportioned to the rest of the College. It is dedicated to Thomas Becket, whom the Papists number amongst their Saints, as having lost his life in the defence of the immunities of the Church.'

As regards the *personnel* of Douay College in 1613, the dominating figure was, of course, Matthew Kellison, who, following Worthington's dismissal, had been summoned from what he called his 'quiet nest' in Rheims and appointed Regent of the College on June 10, 1613. He was not publicly declared President until the following November, and John Southworth would have been present at the enthusiastic assembly of the house when the announcement was received with the applause of all. He had quickly won the esteem of every student in the College, and his firm but gentle rule was already working a wonderful change in the spirit of the establishment. He was a man of more than average stature, with a commanding presence; his countenance is said to have been rather forbidding, a quality atoned for by his remarkable affability: intellectually he was brilliant and had a wide reputation for sound scholarship¹. He was the ideal priest and

¹ For an account of his writings, see Gillow's *Dictionary*.

a source of inspiration to those who surrendered themselves to his influence. He loved his students of Douay like a father¹.

Such was the President to whom the ecclesiastical training of John Southworth was committed.² Unfortunately his immediate subordinate officers or assistants, particularly his Vice-President and Prefect of Studies, were men of a different stamp. Kellison inherited them from his predecessor, and it was not in his power to replace them as he would have wished. They were not too friendly to the new President's ideals, and were responsible for a large amount of friction in the house. One of the charges that must be laid to their account was the false reports that were spread about the College in the spring of 1616, that its members were favouring the much-discussed Oath of Allegiance of James I, and the dangerous opinions of one Widdrington concerning the deposing power of the Pope. These were burning questions among the Secular clergy in England at the time, and the reports about the College were calculated to do considerable harm. Kellison met the situation with much energy by summoning all the priests, theologians and philosophers of the College before him and putting it to them whether they themselves favoured or had heard anyone else favouring the said Oath or Widdrington's opinions. Their

¹ See his charming letter to them on his departure to England to collect funds for the College. *Third Douay Diary*, p. 219.

² For Kellison's presidency, see Tierney-Dodd, especially extracts from original letters; also *Douay Diary*.

declarations were written down and their proper signatures appended, and the whole document was sent by the President to the Pope. The College was entirely cleared of the calumny.

Among the students who were questioned by the President was John Southworth, then in his first year of theology, and his declaration on the subject is given in the College Diary (April 26, 1616). It reads as follows:

Ego Joannes Leus contestor Deum me non aliter sentire de pretensae fidelitatis juramento quam supradicti sentiunt, scilicet quod sit erroneum, damnabile, execrabile, et in se includens apertam perjuriam, execrorque etiam Widdringtoni opinionem. Neque ullum fautorem illius opinionis in hoc collegio cognosco.

I, John Lee, call God to witness that I do not think otherwise about the Oath of so-called Allegiance than the above think, that is, that it is erroneous, damnable, execrable, and involving open perjury, and I also execrate Widdrington's opinion. Nor do I know of any supporter of that opinion in this College.

The signatures were all subscribed in the presence of an Apostolic and Public Notary. John Southworth, however, was not present, and signed separately, the rest of the company bearing witness that he had written his name with his own hand. He was obviously on the sick-list, as the *Diary* informs us that on May 3, a week later, he proceeded to England for the sake of recuperating his health.

Two other difficulties that Kellison had to face concerned the inconveniences caused by his

students being obliged to attend the Jesuit schools outside the College, and by the presence on his staff of a Jesuit confessor, to whom the spiritual supervision of the entire house was committed. These anomalies were the cause of much jarring, and it was not until 1619 that, after many stirs and commotions, all these problems were finally solved.¹

Contentions and disputes, not unmixed with ill-feeling, were the background of John Southworth's life at Douay College. The effect on the students for the most part was to make them rally round a President whom they certainly loved and venerated, and his large charity and prudence probably saved them from taking serious hurt or scandal, or contracting any very deep animosity towards the powers in opposition. Some of the more sensitive souls were doubtless disturbed in this atmosphere of continual friction, which was possibly the reason why many of them left Douay to follow their priestly vocation in orders other than the Secular or Jesuit. A month after the final clash on the question of the Schools, we find John Southworth leaving the College to try his vocation with the Benedictines, and this step of his was perhaps not unconnected with the accumulation of ill-feeling that preceded that

¹ Kellison was allowed to establish theological and philosophical lectures in his own house in April 1616. He himself became chief Professor of Theology, and began lectures on the *Pars Tertia* of St. Thomas, while Dr. Henry Mailer expounded the *De Trinitate*. For the question of the Schools and the Confessor, see original documents in Tierney-Dodd, and *Third Douay Diary*.

event. The President never stood in the way of such desires, and when he first took office he told his subjects that if any of them felt called to another Order they had only to come to him and he would give them all the assistance in his power. Actually John Southworth did not stay long with the Benedictines, as we shall see later.

As regards his life at Douay, we have only the barest details to guide us, and we must make our picture out of these.

He was twenty-one years old when he arrived and we can presume that he at once entered upon his philosophical studies, going as an extern to the Jesuit school in the town. For the general supervision of his work he would have been under the Prefect of Studies, who at that time was Dr. Singleton, while in all matters relating to discipline he would have been subject to the General Prefect. All money in his possession he would place in the hands of the Procurator, who kept careful account of it, and dispensed it in accordance with the owner's needs.

A few days after his arrival, following a short Retreat, he would have taken the College Oath, presented to all convicts on admission. Kneeling before the President and two of the senior priests, he recited the Creed and then solemnly promised that he would observe the College rules to the best of his power, and that while he lived in the College he would do nothing to disturb the observance of its discipline nor persuade others so to do.

In respect to his daily life, after rising at the

summons of the bell, dressing and making his bed, he would descend to the Chapel to take part in Meditation, Litany, and Mass, which was offered every morning for the conversion of England and Scotland.¹ The working hours were taken up with two lectures of an hour each, one in the morning and one in the afternoon, due periods of recreation, an hour's disputation on some prepared philosophical argument, and once a fortnight an hour and a half's revision. Each day at least a quarter of an hour was given to reading some spiritual book, and every week there was a catechetical instruction or conference of some sort given by the ordinary confessor. The day closed with night Prayers, including the examination of conscience, followed by points for the next morning's meditation. Then each student went to his respective room or dormitory, and candles were promptly extinguished at a specified hour.

As regards recreation, the College was well-equipped with gardens and playing-ground, and often there would be walks abroad. On feast-days the ordinary programme would be considerably relaxed, and at times there were dramatic performances given by the younger members of the house. One of them that John Southworth witnessed was a comedy composed by one of the Professors: it was performed by the scholars

¹ Students were encouraged to go to Holy Communion once a month; Deacons and Subdeacons once a fortnight. There was a Retreat in Holy Week for Divines, and a week's Retreat for the rest during the longer holidays.

in the Refectory and pleased the audience so much that it got to be talked of in the town, and on the representation of some of the chief citizens was performed a second time in the open for the general public. It gave great pleasure, and one of the magistrates of Douay presented the actors with several jars of wine!¹

The routine of daily life would be coloured, too, by all the various excitements incidental to College life, some bright and some sad. There were often visits from high ecclesiastics, and priests were continually arriving from the English Mission to gain a little respite from their labours: one can imagine the rapt attention with which the stories of their dangers and escapes were listened to by young men preparing to tread the same high road of adventure. They were to be called upon to face the same perils at a not distant date. Surely John's heart beat faster when he heard how Stephen Lee, the young man with whom he had entered Douay four years previously, had been captured by spies at Dover and cast into prison! The same fate had befallen another of his associates, John Minshall, who had gone to England for reasons of health.

Then there were the sad days when the shadow of death lingered about the College: John would have shared the common grief when Richard Worthinall died with the unction of the priesthood still fresh on his hands, before he had said his

¹ The *Diary* reads 'aliquot vini totas.' I infer that 'totas' is a mistake for 'diotas.'

first Mass : or when Philip Catharall, aged sixteen, a boy dear to the whole community because of his deep piety and grace of character, died after a four months' sickness.¹ Then there was the necessary sadness attaching to the departure of those who for physical or other defects had to abandon their great ambition of working for souls.

It is natural to suppose that John's memories of his first year in the seminary would centre round the person of Thomas Maxfield, the future martyr, who indeed must have been much in the thoughts of all of the students during the latter part of the year 1613 and the beginning of 1614, when in rapid succession he received the Four Minor Orders, Subdiaconate, Diaconate, and finally the Priesthood on March 29th.² He had come to Douay as early as 1603, but a long illness interfered with his studies and he was obliged to go to England, returning to the College in 1612. He remained a further year after his ordination and went on the Mission in July, 1615. His priestly labours were very short, as he was captured in June of the following year. From the Gatehouse, where he was imprisoned, he kept in touch with his student-friends at Douay, especially with a William Farrar, and actually two of such letters are preserved in the original at St. Edmund's College. In one of these

¹ 'juvenis optimae spei, et ob pietatem insignem, modestiam, diligentiam in studiis, aliasque animi dotes omnibus charus.
Diary sub May 21, 1617.

² He received all his Orders at Arras.

he asks to be commended to 'Mr. Rosse with all of your rank.' Now John Southworth received the tonsure with Rosse (alias Rishworth) in April, 1614, so we can probably include him in the circle of Maxfield's College friends.¹ There is another letter to Farrar, and one to Kellison, whom he addresses by the alias of 'Pemberton,' extant in the *Westminster Archives*. In all these letters Maxfield shows a deep love for his *alma mater* and unbounded veneration for its President, and we can understand what feelings the perusal of these letters must have aroused in the College. From the Gatehouse prison he writes such sentences as: 'I am verie merrie thanks be to God, and never better content:' 'We drink to you often, although wee eate but once a day.' His warm affection for Kellison is manifest everywhere: he is the man 'whom always I most esteem, no other than my father:' he offers him 'the remembrance of my love and humble dutie with all hearty thanks for your worthy counsell and admonitions, which I purpose ever by God's assistance to hide *in sinu meo* and vigilantly to observe *tanquam monita paterna*.' And after his torture in prison, a little time before his arraignment, he wrote a last letter to his 'dear father'

¹ 'Commend me . . . to Mr. Rosse wt all of yr ranck. To Mr. Lowe and his sonns.' So Fr. Pollen, S.J., reads the MS. in *C.R.S.*, Vol. III, p. 55, and says 'Mr. Lowe and his sonns' (or at least the sons) 'will be Gulielmus Lous and Joannes Leus (sic) mentioned in the same place.' This is not convincing; unless, indeed, John Southworth had his father and a brother staying at Douay with him. There is no evidence that warrants such a conclusion.

at Douay : ' As in duty I am bound never to forget you, who have ever had a tender and fatherly care of me ; so now especially I must in no way omit to write to you being peradventure the last time that ever I must salute you : for that now I expect with some hope (if so unworthy a wretch may presume to hope for so great a dignity) to end my days in the just quarrel of my lord and master Jesus Christ . . . and so in haste being now called to the grate by the sheriff's man I bid you, dear father, farewell in Christ Jesu.'

Maxfield was hanged, drawn and quartered at Tyburn on July 1, 1616, and three weeks later news of his martyrdom reached Douay in the form of letters from some who had witnessed the scene. ' All the Catholics here,' said one account, ' did reioyce & scarce could contayne themselves for ioy; the people of other kingdomes did wounder at the constancie & alacritie of the Catholikes of England that being worne out with so many persecutions, should yet be so generous in mind as to triumphe in the death of those who were most deare unto them.'

The same feelings of joy and triumph would be manifest in the College when the news arrived : there would be a solemn High Mass and a *Te Deum* in thanksgiving that another of her sons had joined that long procession of priests who had shed their blood in the 'just quarrel' of their Lord and Master. The heroic spirit was not dead at Douay, the seed-plot of martyrs, in which was scarcely a room that had not at one time been

the cell of a martyr¹—that spirit familiar to Allen, who once wrote of his students; ‘they be not (God be praised) much afraid of death or danger in so happy and honourable a quarrel, and many desire martyrdom if God shall so dispose;’ and his successor wrote of the next generation—‘they seem to me like men striving with all their might to put out a conflagration!’

Another future martyr with whom John would have come in contact in the earlier part of his career was Henry Morse, who entered Douay as a convictor in June, 1614. He had been brought up a Protestant and while he was a student of law at one of the Inns of Court at London his thoughts turned to the Catholic religion. He came to the College at the age of nineteen, and after two or three years was received into the Church. Returning to England and refusing to take the Oath of Allegiance, he was cast into prison and eventually banished the kingdom. In August, 1618, he was again at Douay, sharing the common table but not living in the College. He stayed there until September, 1620, and he was still engaged on his humanities when he left Douay for the last time. Later he went to the English College at Rome, where he was ordained priest in 1624, and afterwards entered the Society of Jesus. It would appear that when at Douay he made a friend of John Southworth, and later on in life we shall find them working side by

¹ ‘Nullum cubiculum in dicto collegio, quod non aliquando fuerit cella martyris.’ *West. Arch.* XLVIII, 29.

side among the poor and plague-stricken in London.¹

Returning to John's personal career at Douay, the *Diary* informs us that with eleven other students he received the Tonsure on May 24, 1614. This implies that after a year's careful consideration and trial of his vocation, he definitely sealed his intention to become a priest. At the end of the next year (December 29, 1615) he was solemnly admitted as an *alumnus* of the College and took the prescribed Oath, whereby he bound himself more fully to the ecclesiastical state and to priestly work in England. His oath was as follows :

I, John Southworth, an Alumnus of the English College at Douay, considering the divine benefits which I have received, particularly that which has led me from my country now afflicted with heresy, and which has made me a member of His Catholic Church, desiring moreover to show myself not altogether unmindful of such great mercy of God, have resolved to offer myself to His divine service, so far as I am able for furthering the end of this College ; and I promise and swear before Almighty God that I am ready and will be ever ready, so far as His most holy grace shall help me, to receive Holy Orders in due time and to return to England in order to gain the souls of others as often and when it shall seem good to the Superior of this College so to command. In the meantime while I dwell here I promise to live peaceably and quietly, and manfully to obey the constitutions and rules of the College.

¹ See pp. 80-92. Henry Morse suffered martyrdom February 1, 1645.

The next mention of him is on April 26, 1616, when he subscribed the document against the Oath of Allegiance and Widdrington's opinion. As we have seen, he was ill at the time, and in the May following, when he was in his first year of theology, he went to England to convalesce. It is surprising how much sickness prevailed in the College: Englishmen seem to have found the Flanders climate unduly harsh, or else the College regime was too severe for the average constitution; we find several cases of students who experienced difficulty with the diet of the common table and were allowed to take their meals in town. There are, too, repeated notices in the *Diary* of people going to England for a time for reasons of health, and the percentage of mortality in the College was unduly high, the most common complaints being dysentery and fever. It is true that in the earlier part of the seventeenth century there was much contagion rife in Flanders, and we shall see presently that an outbreak of plague in the district of Douay was to cause serious alarm to the College authorities in the years 1617-1618.

John was absent in England for a period of ten months. I have discovered no record of his movements during that time: the presumption is that he was at home in his native Lancashire, though one is tempted to wonder whether he may have found his way to London and been among the many friends who visited Thomas Maxfield in his prison or even attended his martyrdom.

Restored in health he came back to Douay on Lady Day, 1617, and it was during the spring of that year that the plague broke out in various parts of Flanders. The President began to get alarmed, and early in June in company with the scholars made a pilgrimage of devotion to a shrine of St. Roch about two miles from Douay. In the following month the plague appeared in the town itself, and as a precaution the scholars ceased to attend the Jesuit school and were confined to the College grounds: classes, however, were arranged for them under proper instructors. Boys' parents, too, got scared, and there was quite an exodus of students, some returning to England, and others hurrying to parts of the Continent free from danger. Some who had fled to Cambrai for safety, left that town hurriedly towards the end of September, when the plague broke out there too, and returned once more to Douay. The Diarist seems to have a quiet chuckle over them. 'All those who had fled to Cambrai, frightened out of their wits, returned to us with their fears set at rest.' Whatever the dangers may have been at Cambrai, John Southworth proceeded to that town on September 29, and on the following day, the Feast of St. Jerome, received the first of the Minor Orders (Ostiarius) from the hands of the Archbishop.¹ Andrew Hallam was made Deacon and John Gradell Subdeacon at the same time: on the day following these last two were raised to the priesthood and diaconate respectively, and John Southworth

¹ Francis Van der Burch, Archbishop of Cambrai, 1615-1644.

was made *lector*. He remained alone at Cambrai another two days to receive the last of the Minor Orders (*exorcista*¹ and *acolythus*).

In the following October at the opening of the academic year, as the plague still persisted and in fact was growing worse from day to day, the President organized the school classes within the house on a more systematic basis: the newly-ordained Father Hallam was made professor of Poetry, Father Danvers was appointed to Syntax, and the class of Rhetoric was entrusted to Father White, whose alias at Douay was Blacklow. This last, a man of singular ability, was to attract considerable attention later on in his career, when much controversy raged round certain of his theological and political views (Blackloism). Tutors were placed over the smaller boys, whose numbers by this time were somewhat depleted, and all these classes had an hour and a half's lesson in the morning and a similar period in the afternoon, with certain times allotted to preparation.

In the same month the President was face to face with serious financial troubles: these arose from the non-payment of the Spanish pension, losses of various kinds due to the plague and the unliquidated debts of his predecessor. He accordingly sent a circular letter to the Catholics of England imploring their aid, and entreated the Archpriest to interest himself in the appeal.

¹ The *Diary* under date October 2, has 'ad ordinem Ostiariatus promotus est.' This is an error: he was made Ostiarius on September 30.

As a result, difficulties were tided over for a time and the College life went on peacefully and undisturbed. With the abatement of the plague, too, the boys who had left began to return, and numbers gradually reached the normal. The College *Diary*, apart from one or two changes on the staff, has little to record of the first quarter of the year 1618.

As Eastertide drew near, John was preparing for his final Orders. On March 31, the Saturday before Passion Sunday, *sabbatum in sitientes*, he received the Subdiaconate at Valenciennes with George Machell, Francis Barber and John Daniel. Returning to Douay, he probably spent Passion Week in Retreat, proceeding on the Saturday to Cambrai: there on Palm Sunday, together with the above-mentioned, he was made Deacon. On the following Holy Saturday all four were raised to the Priesthood, and the plenitude of their desires attained. Other students received Minor Orders on the same occasion, and we can assume that Dr. Kellison was present at the great ceremony.¹ The happy little party would have returned to Douay in the afternoon, to be received by all the house with joyful congratulation.

On Easter Sunday, John Southworth offered up his First Mass to his Risen Lord 'magno cum affectu,' with great affection of devotion, at the altar in the College Chapel, where so many

¹ The ordaining Bishop throughout was Archbishop Van der Burch: so John Southworth received all his orders from that prelate.

martyrs before him had consummated their first Sacrifice to their Heavenly Master.

By this time he had only completed his second year of theology, his studies having been interfered with by illness : so he was not ready yet to be sent on the Mission. For the next twelve months he was engaged on his final treatises and received more particular instruction in the administration of the Sacraments and practical questions bearing on the cure of souls.

It was the critical year in his priesthood, for as the time drew near when his superiors would have to form judgment on his aptitude for work in England, he himself grew doubtful of the direction in which God wanted his service. They must have been days of great interior struggle, made more difficult by the course of outward events in the College, where his own body of Secular priests were in conflict with the Jesuits. He was not unaware that the English Mission was a similar arena where these two antagonists met in contentious opposition, and no doubt the zealous soul of the young priest rebelled at the thought of being drawn into the vortex of idle animosities, wasting an energy and devotion that he wanted to give wholly to God. At last after prayer and counsel, he considered that it might be God's will in his regard to seek his own salvation and that of others, guided by the rule of St. Benedict. It was on June 28, 1619, that with a heavy heart he left the doors of Douay and abandoned the ranks of the Secular clergy. But that, after all, was not to be God's will with

him : he was to be His active champion and eager apostle for thirty-five years, his only cloister the prisons of London, and another June 28 (1654) was to seal the purposes that God had designed for him from the beginning.

The *Diary* does not mention what Benedictine monastery he retired to : after a few months he was back again at the College, and we read that on December 13 he was sent *in vineam Anglicanam*—to the Vineyard of England, to win souls for God.

Having received his faculties and *viaticum* (or journey money) from the President, he travelled in disguise, accompanied by a young man, Edmund Broughton, of the Class of Grammar. They crossed from Calais to Dover, and quitted that port without suspicion. They then proceeded to London, and John found a temporary residence in the dwelling of a responsible missionary¹. There he awaited the instruction of his Ordinary, the Archpriest.

¹ It was part of the President's duty to secure a safe residence for new missionaries on their arrival in England, 'ne primo ingressu in manus incidunt exploratorum.' Tierney, *Appendix XIV*.

III

MISSIONARY LABOURS IN ENGLAND

1619-1636

THE account given by Bishop Challoner of John Southworth's missionary activities in England is unfortunately very scanty. After narrating one or two incidents in his career, drawn from a Puritan pamphlet, he has to confess that for want of proper memoirs he has been unable to find any other particulars respecting his labours in England. As Bishop Challoner commanded sources of information now scattered or lost, we cannot hope to fill out the picture to any considerable extent. It must always be regretted that the students who entered Douay were not subjected to the same interrogatories as obtained in the Jesuit Colleges at the time. Had this been the case, we should have a much fuller knowledge of the early lives of many of our Secular priest-martyrs. The Jesuits, too, working in organized groups, and in continual epistolary touch with their superiors at home and abroad, amassed a vast amount of material respecting the lives and activities of their subjects, and their headquarters had an almost complete *dossier* of each one. It is to this that we owe the fortunate

fact of possessing to-day such full data for the lives of so many of the noble martyrs of the Society of Jesus. It was a different case with the average Secular priest: he was often ploughing a lonely furrow, giving no systematic account of himself or his doings to a higher authority, attracting notice only when the prison gates were opened for him or the sledge was waiting to drag him to Tyburn. Their trials, indeed, their dying speeches and their deaths are faithfully recorded by loving hands, and for the most of them the story of their last few days is the whole of their biography. The pillaging of Douay College by the Revolutionaries in 1793 no doubt destroyed many valuable manuscript records of a large number of these holy men, and to-day we are left with only scraps of information concerning them, culled from the *Douay Diaries*, which are rarely expansive, odd letters, controversial pamphlets and public State records.

It is this dearth of information that faces the inquirer into the life of our blessed martyr. There are just the barest indications of facts, and isolated facts at that, with wide tracts between of a life unknown.

John Southworth left Douay on December 13, 1619: he went to England, 'where he laboured divers years not without profit': he returned to Douay in March, 1624, *nobiscum ad tempus remansurus*, 'to remain with us for a time'; actually he stayed in Flanders 'for a year and some months' and acted as chaplain to the Benedictine nuns at Brussels; he then returned to the Mission once

more and was apprehended at Lancaster in 1627. We see a little of him in connection with the martyrdom of Father Arrowsmith in 1628, and again in 1636, when he was working in London with another future martyr, Father Morse, S.J. Here are cases in point where our extensive knowledge of the lives of Jesuit martyrs accidentally throws light on one of the hidden servants of God. From 1636 to 1640 State papers show him in prison; then there is a blank of fourteen years until 1654, when we can quote fairly full accounts of his trial and martyrdom.

Around these few facts we must attempt to build some general account of John's priestly life in England.

William Southerne was the last priest to suffer (April 30, 1618) in the reign of James I. At the end of July of that year, when a marriage-treaty between Prince Charles and the Infanta of Spain was in question, as many as sixty priests who were confined in different prisons throughout the country were, at the intercession of the Spanish ambassador, allowed to change their prisons for perpetual banishment and were transported beyond the seas.¹ The negotiations continued right up to 1623, and the marriage treaty was almost a *fait accompli* when they came to an abrupt end: as long as they were in progress there was a lull in the persecution of the Catholics, James pledging himself in various ways to stay the application of the penal statutes. The Puritan

¹ The *Third Douay Diary* refers to this *sub* July 30, 1618.

element in Parliament and the country at large was much annoyed at this show of toleration¹ and continually pressed the King to check the growth and activities of his papist subjects.

And so throughout the period of his first sojourn in England (from December, 1619, until March, 1624) John Southworth would have performed his priestly functions with comparative immunity. The prospects for Catholics looked good indeed. When the Archpriest, Harrison, died in 1621, the clergy again agitated for the appointment of a Bishop, and their prayers were heard when William Bishop was promoted to that dignity in 1623: in the same year the English Mission of the Society of Jesus was raised to the status of a Province and divided into twelve districts, each with its proper revenue. The Church was organizing its forces, and to the more optimistic the day of the restoration of the old Faith did not seem very far off. That the Catholics after so many years of bloody persecution should at last have a Bishop in their midst was to them a matter of deep moment and heart-felt rejoicing: it will interest the reader to have one or two extracts from an account² of his arrival in this country and his immediate occupations, written by the William Farrar whom we

¹ Fuller, *Ch. History*, X, p. 100, says: 'The protestants grieved at the match, fearing that the marriage would be the funeral of their religion; and their jealousies so descanted thereon, that they suspected, if taking effect, more water of the Tyber than of the Thames would run down London Bridge.'

² In the *Third Douay Diary*, pp. 401-405.

last came across at Douay as one of John's associates.

'The Bishop of Chalcedon crossed to Dover, the well-known English port, towards the end of July (1623). And leaving the ship about midnight, he immediately travelled twelve English miles on foot to avoid the snares of spies and highwaymen, though he was a man of seventy, and the night was stormy. He had a companion who knew the roads and country well, and was led in safety by him to the house of a Catholic of noble birth.¹ It would be vain to attempt to describe the joy with which he was received. Suffice it to say that Peter was not more joyfully received by the Centurion, nor Paul by the Corinthians, while the servants looked on it as a miracle that they should actually behold what they had never seen before, a Catholic bishop.

'He hastened to London, so as to anticipate, if possible, the report of his arrival, and lie hid the more easily in the city if any trouble arose. There he went to the house of an illustrious widow lady,² who (though the evil times compel us to leave her un-named) will be spoken of by posterity as most zealous for the Catholic religion and the support of Christ's priests Here placed in safety he summoned the Vice-Archpriest and as many of the Assistants as were in London and the surrounding district. But in the meantime news of his arrival had spread. And a nobleman³ writing with the greatest politeness and reverence, sent a carriage fully equipped and with attendants to take him at once into the country. He was sought for with such eagerness that he could not decline. Therefore, taking with him some ecclesiastics of importance, he went and administered Confirmation to about four hundred people, including the nobleman

¹ Probably Sir William Roper's house at Canterbury.

² Lady Mary Dormer.

³ Viscount Montagu.

himself, in whose house he stayed for some days. . . . Allowed with difficulty to depart from his illustrious host, he returned to London, and held council with the Assistants. Two points especially were discussed : first, the institution of a form of ecclesiastical government ; secondly, the preservation of peace with the regular clergy. As to the first point, it was decided, after long and mature deliberation, that the same form of jurisdiction should be assumed which, before the beginning of this unhappy schism, was, according to the sacred canons, in use among our countrymen. He therefore appointed twenty Archdeacons through the various provinces of the whole kingdom, giving to each his own rural deans and notaries. Having then selected five Vicar-generals from the Archdeacons, he appointed a dean and chapter to be a council for himself in ruling the rest of the clergy and the faithful, and moreover to preserve ordinary jurisdiction when the see should be vacant. As soon as he had done this he informed the Holy See of his actions, humbly asking for the blessing and approval of the Pope.

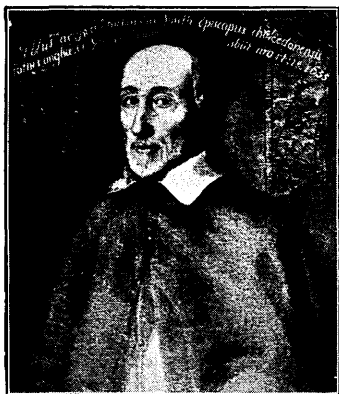
‘ He now intended to carry out his other plan for securing peace with the Regulars. But being beset with appeals from many Catholics requesting Confirmation, this matter had to be set aside. For he could not long put off such urgent desires, and unless he set out quickly, as the winter was already approaching, he would not have time to return. So he began his journey, and spent about two months in this holy work, confirming about two thousand people in various places. And after having been received everywhere, as far as time allowed, with great joy by crowds of the faithful, he returned to London, just before winter, to carry out his plans for peace. . . . The eagerness with which all the faithful, including persons of eminence and very many of the nobility, came from all sides, begging the sacrament of Confirma-

tion, is wonderful. Nor did their zeal diminish when Parliament grew angry, but it increased instead to such a pitch that the Bishop had for a short time to withdraw lest he should irritate the magistracy by the gathering of people. Although he thought it advisable to give way in some things to the times yet he never willingly refused the wishes of the faithful, but in turn, as opportunity offered, he attended to the poor, consoling them by the ministry of grace and the divine word. And he cared less about exciting the heretics to anger, than about showing any sign himself of cowardice and fear of death. Hence when one of the Privy Council, who feared the mad rage of the Puritans, then taking part in the session of Parliament, advised him through a messenger to delegate his authority to others and cross the seas for a time, the Bishop answered worthily that he did not fear the threats of Parliament in the least. He had suffered imprisonment twice for Christ, and was prepared to return to prison or to undergo willingly whatever hardships should be decreed against him. He had not come to England prepared to flee directly the wolf came, but would give his life for his sheep. Thus this man, worthy of immortality, went on until, with his body worn out by old age and toil, he contracted hernia from the cold, and a fever coming on, he died on the 13th of April, 1624, in the 71st year of his age. . . . His name among Puritans caused fear, among Protestants admiration, and among Catholics veneration.'

So much for the short but eventful episcopate of William Bishop, the pioneer of the restored Catholic hierarchy in our land. It would seem that John Southworth was working in or near London about this period. In a work entitled *The Foot out of the Snare*, written by John Gee, and published on April 22, 1624, two South-



DR. WILLIAM BISHOP



DR. RICHARD SMITH

worths (apparently Christopher and John) appear in a long list of priests residing in or resorting to London: now John left for Douay in March, so the author's information would refer to a previous period. About this time there were very many priests in London and Gee computes their number at 261: after giving an exhaustive list of their names, and in some cases addresses and distinguishing qualities, he says: 'These bee all the birds of this feather, which have come to my eye or knowledge by name, as residing in or resorting to this City: yet above foure times so many there are that overspread our thickets through England, as appeareth by the empty nests beyond the Seas, from whence they have flowne by shoales of late: I meane, the Seminary Colledges, which have deeply disgorged by severall Missions of them & also is gathered by particular computation of their divided troops; whenas in one shire where I have abode sometime, there are reputed to nestle three hundred of this brood!' John Gee, originally a Protestant minister in Lancashire, became a Catholic and settled in London, where he was intimate with many of the faithful, both clerical and lay: he never had the Faith firmly and apostatized shortly after the 'Fatal Vespers' of 1623. He rounded on his old friends and a year later published *The Foot out of the Snare*, a vindictive and scurrilous piece of scandal-mongering, valuable, however, for information concerning persons and places which would probably otherwise have been lost: internal evidence suggests that it was composed largely at

Puritanical dictation; his sarcasm is clever, but more sad than amusing. He was present at the 'Fatal Vespers' or 'Doleful Evensong,' which so shocked London at the time that we must at least refer to it in passing: John Southworth was probably in town at the time, if indeed he was not actually an eye-witness of the calamity. Briefly, on Sunday, October 26, 1623, Father Drury, S.J., a famous preacher of the day, was addressing an assembly of some three hundred souls in a large room at the residence of the French Ambassador, Count de Tillier, in the old Blackfriars, when the floor suddenly gave way, and carrying the lower stories with it, killed some ninety persons on the spot, including the preacher and an assisting priest. The accident created a tremendous commotion, and crowds of citizens rushed to the spot: most were sympathetic, but some fanatical Puritans behaved very badly and cast mud and stones at the dead and injured, regarding the affair as a manifest judgment of God on the Catholics! King James at once sent a messenger to the French Ambassador, telling him of his sorrow and sympathy.

In the course of the next month the negotiations for the Spanish match were finally broken off, and when James met his Parliament there was an instant clamour that the laws be put in execution against the Catholics, whose clergy were the 'professed engines of Spain' and the laity a body of traitors. After temporizing James admitted that the 'encrease of popery was as thorns in his eyes and pricks in his side,' and

issued a proclamation, which was immediately carried out, that all missionaries should be banished by a certain day, that judges and magistrates should be admonished to be vigilant in the execution of their duty, that the lord mayor should be commanded to arrest all persons coming from Mass in the houses of the foreign ambassadors, and that measures should be adopted for the education of the children of Catholic recusants in the doctrine and discipline of the reformed Church. It was probably at this time that the advice was given to William Bishop to flee the country: death came to him shortly afterwards, and he was spared a longer sight of the ruin of all his hopes. Kellison was with him a week or so before the end, being in London on the business of the College. It was there, I think, that he met John Southworth, and advised him, for what reasons we know not, to return for a while to Douay. Probably he was suffering from ill-health again, and a change from the anxious turmoil of the English mission was necessary. John reached Douay on March 24, 1624, and Kellison followed him ten days later.

They left behind them a Catholic body bereft of its pastor and threatened by a Puritanical Parliament with the full rigour of the penal laws. By the providence of God, however, it was not long before a fresh marriage proposal, this time with Henrietta Maria, sister of Louis XIII, once more relieved them of their fears and opened a future bright with promise.

According to Hart's letter, from which we

have quoted earlier, John remained in Flanders 'for one year and some months.' Of this period he spent four months at the College, the *Diary* informing us that on July 29 he went to Brussels and soon afterwards undertook the duties of Confessor to the Benedictine nuns there.

At Douay he found the College in a prosperous state. Kellison's able management had brought success in every direction, and in the January of that year the number of the students had increased to 130. Among them was Nicholas Postgate, who had arrived in July, 1621, and was now nearly completing his humanities. He went to the Mission in 1630 and laboured some fifty years in Yorkshire, leading a life of great holiness. He suffered at York in 1679.

In the College chapel John would have seen a relic of his old fellow-student, Thomas Maxfield—a rib taken from his body after martyrdom by one of the Douay priests who was present and given by him to Fr. White (Blacklow) for presentation to the College (October 24, 1623). In the same year two other important relics in possession of the College had received the approbation of the Bishop of Arras,¹ and their public veneration was allowed. These were a piece of the hair-shirt of St. Thomas of Canterbury² preserved at the time of the Reformation by a priest of Lichfield, named White, and given by him to a Fr. Buckland, a professor of the

¹ These approbations will be found in *Appendix II*.

² An Indulgence of forty days was granted to all who on any day should pray to the martyr before the relic.

College, and the cardinalitial biretta of St. Charles Borromeo, given by the Rev. Thomas Harley¹ in 1616, when John was absent in England. We shall refer to these two relics later on, as by the providence of God they were the chief instruments in the identification of John Southworth's body in 1927.

At the end of July, John proceeded to Brussels, and in a little while, his health mending, undertook light duty by acting as temporary confessor to the Benedictine nuns of the Glorious Assumption of Our Lady.² That convent, the pioneer of its kind, had been founded in 1598 by Lady Mary Percy, the daughter of Blessed Thomas Percy, Earl of Northumberland, who died a martyr for the Faith after the Northern Rebellion of 1569, and many distinguished English ladies entered its cloister. The spiritual direction of the nuns was officially entrusted to the Secular clergy, but in a little while the same dissensions that separated Seculars and Jesuits elsewhere, made themselves felt in the community: after the death of a Secular chaplain, Robert Chambers, in 1623, some of the nuns in the year following migrated to Ghent to establish a separate house. Another regular chaplain (Rev. Thomas Middleton) was not appointed until July, 1625. In

¹ He had received it from the Rev. Hugh Griffen of Cambrai, to whom it had been presented by Dr. Owen, Bishop of Cassano, in whose arms St. Charles had died. At the moment it is at St. Edmund's College. See page 163.

² Now St. Mary's Abbey, East Bergholt. For some of the above particulars I am indebted to the Lady Abbess and to the Archivist of the Convent. Other details will be found in Guilday's work, before mentioned, pp. 256-265.

the interregnum the duties were performed by a Father Ward and John Southworth.¹ The date of Father Middleton's appointment fixes nicely the term of John's absence from England, 'a year and some months' (Hart), and provides the only positive evidence of the approximate time of his return to England.

The political and religious situation in his native country had undergone considerable change since his departure in the spring of 1624. By the end of that year the terms of the French match were practically settled and the King had engaged himself to free his Catholic subjects from all molestation in their persons and property; instructions were issued ordering the release of all persons imprisoned for religion and the return of fines levied since a specified period on recusants; officers of the exchequer were forbidden to receive such monies in future, and magistrates were commanded to desist from all further prosecutions under the penal statutes. James died in the following March: in May the marriage was duly solemnized and the Queen shortly afterwards came to London, where she was allowed her own chapel and priests, and Catholic servants and attendants. About the same time, to add to the joy of the Catholic body, a successor to William Bishop arrived in England in the person of Richard Smith, who in January had been ap-

¹ There is no especial mention of John Southworth in the Convent Archives: he was one of those 'others who have charitably assisted the house in the vacancy of a Confessor.' (Convent *List of Confessors, ad finem*).

pointed Vicar-Apostolic of England and Scotland.

Both these events might have appeared to John on his return to the mission as auguries of more peaceful times for the Catholics. This, alas! was not to be the case, and actually they were to prove the seeds of further troubles.

Dr. Richard Smith was an Oxford man and went through his theological course at Rome, where he was ordained priest in 1592. He taught at Valladolid, Seville and Douay respectively, and acted for a time as clergy-agent at Rome, served on the English mission for several years, and then presided over a school of English controversialists in the university of Paris. While there he was chosen by the Holy See to succeed William Bishop.

Coming to England he at once began to exercise the full prerogatives of a Bishop, and almost at once there were claims on the part of the Regulars to exemption in certain points from his jurisdiction, and a whole string of disputes respecting the nature and extent of that jurisdiction. The crux of the controversy turned on the pretended right of the Regulars to have the privilege of hearing confessions without the permission of the Ordinary. To follow in any detail the course of the misunderstandings¹ between Seculars and Regulars would be tedious, and in charity it may be said that the impatience

¹ They are described at length by Dodd and Butler. Accounts will also be found in Brady's *English Catholic Hierarchy*, and in Cath. Rec. Soc., *The Archpriest Controversy*.

and intolerance displayed by either side was due to the zeal that each had for the common good: they were each convinced that the policy of the opposite party was wrong and misguided. In sum, the war of books and pamphlets waxed so hot and at times so exceeded the moderation of just defence that even non-Catholics were scandalized and offended. Certain insinuations regarding the pretensions of the Bishop attracted the notice of the Government, which went so far as to issue a Proclamation for his apprehension (December, 1628) on the ground that he was withdrawing subjects from their allegiance to the King: three months later a second Proclamation was issued, stating that Smith 'with high presumption taketh it upon himself to exercise ecclesiastical jurisdiction,' and offering a reward of £100 to anyone discovering and apprehending him¹. As a result of all this clamour, the Bishop, after spending some time in hiding, left the country and settled in France (1629). After his retirement, remonstrances and counter-remonstrances went to Rome, and Dr. Smith was later admonished to drop the style of Ordinary.

John Southworth fortunately was removed from all this stir and engaged in the humble duties of a missionary in Lancashire.

We must turn from these internal dissensions to consider the general situation in which Catholics found themselves *vis-à-vis* the State. The presence of a Catholic queen, with her

¹ Both Proclamations are printed by Dodd. Original copies exist in the *Westminster Archives*.

chapel and chaplains, in the very heart of the metropolis, aggravated public feeling very considerably: the royal chapel was becoming a natural focus for the Catholics in London, who openly resorted there in great numbers, and in the city the fanatical element, growing stronger every day, took much umbrage at the fact: they got more indignant still when it became publicly known that certain priests had been pardoned at the intercession of the Queen. In his very first Parliament (June 1625), Charles was faced with complaints about these matters and was forced to take action: the charge of the Queen's chapel was taken from the Oratorian Fathers and entrusted to the Capuchins, who were considered less likely to excite criticism, and proclamation was made that the laws against popish recusants should be put into execution. As a result a series of penal enactments came into operation and a renewed activity began on the part of the odious pursuivants. Charles himself was by nature and principle opposed to measures of cruelty, and the attitude he took was determined by the fact that he was trying to please two masters—his Queen, who was constantly interceding for her co-religionists, and a Puritan Parliament, jealous of the Catholics and anxious and angry at any influence they might seem to gain. Unfortunately Charles was only too easily persuaded to sacrifice his papist subjects when his own interest or the fury of their enemies demanded it.¹

It is not to our purpose to enumerate all the

¹ See Father Philip's remark to Panzani—(Butler, p. 363).

petty penal enactments that Parliament wrung from its Sovereign, nor to dwell on Charles' continual evasions of them—evasions which were helping to harden public opinion against him.

In the country parts of England the persecution was perhaps more intense than in London, and respecting Lancashire, where John was at this time working, we have some evidence of the state of things from the annual letters of the Jesuits.¹ Of the year 1625, we read that 'orders were given to the sheriffs of counties to make a most scrutinizing search in the houses of Catholics under the pretext of seizing arms (which were forbidden by the laws to be kept), but really for the capture of priests and sacred things. A large amount of sacred furniture was seized, and several priests were consequently taken. . . . Lastly, power was given to the pursuivants of the pseudo-bishops of searching for priests, demolishing the houses of Catholics, and of plundering anything which appears to belong to religious worship. Because these men are not only by their innate disposition most ready for every crime, but being made all the more hungry from the late interruption to their former busy searches, they resume their hunt again with incredible activity and fury. They now occasion by their violence great trouble to Catholics; many priests are to be imprisoned; the mansions of the highest nobles are broken into, and everything overturned at their pleasure without the least respect for the laws, and they act with the greater liberty

¹ Foley. *Collectanea*, Part II, pp. 1114 *seq.*

because they know they have the approval of the higher magistrates.' In 1626 the Report speaks of Lancashire as follows: 'The storm of persecution raged with violence and sadly barred the gate of salvation¹. . . . A minister breathing out blood and slaughter, sent pursuivants to search the houses of some Catholics for a particular priest, but failing in their object, they carried off instead all the sacred furniture and pictures that they could find. The minister, in his rage against holy things, especially pictures, after many indignities, threw them into the fire, and broke an altar-stone in pieces.'

It is evident from these accounts that John Southworth was carrying on his priestly functions in face of continual difficulties and dangers, and it is not surprising to learn that at last he was apprehended (1627) and cast into prison at Lancaster Castle. Of the circumstances of his capture not a single detail has been preserved, and what little information we have of him at this time comes to us through the history of the trial and martyrdom of another priest who joined him in prison in the following year. This was Father Edmund Arrowsmith, who as we have already mentioned, left Douay only a few months before John's arrival there.

He, too, was a Lancashire man, and when he was sent to the English mission in 1613, he went at once to work in his native county. There is

¹ *Third Douay Diary*, March 29, 1626—'saepius hoc mense de magna in Anglia contra Catholicos persecutione habuimus litteras.'

an account of him, quoted by Challoner, which very likely came from the pen of his fellow-labourer, John Southworth, and for that reason we give it here. 'Though his presence was very mean, yet he was both zealous, witty and fervent, and so forward (in disputing with heretics) that I often wished him merrily to carry salt in his pocket to season his actions, lest too much zeal without discretion might bring him too soon into danger, considering the vehement and sudden storms of persecution that often assailed us. Sometimes I have been in his company, when meeting with ministers sumptuously mounted, I have had much ado to keep him from disputing with them; which if he had done, it would have brought the whole company into danger. In his travels on a time he met with a Protestant gentleman, who seeing him of so mean a presence, and understanding by some in company who and what he was, thought he had got a companion that he might freely jest at and play upon; but his jests were so retorted back upon him, that he, swearing a great oath, said, "I thought I had met with a silly fellow, but now I see he is either a *foolish scholar* or a *learned fool*."'

He was apprehended shortly before the Summer Assizes of 1628, when he was tried by Sir Henry Yelverton, a bitter Puritan, one of the judges on circuit, who acted very brutally towards his prisoner and condemned him to death. 'I would,' he said, 'that all the priests in England might undergo the same sentence.'

When he lay loaded with chains in a filthy

dungeon awaiting the execution of the sentence, John Southworth somehow managed to get near his old friend and speak some last words of consolation to him; and on the fatal morning 'as he was being led through the castle yard, a worthy and venerable priest, his fellow-prisoner, who had been condemned for his faith a year before, but stood then reprieved, showed himself to Father Arrowsmith from a large window. The Martyr, as soon as he perceived him, asked for the last absolution by lifting up his hands (the sign they had mutually agreed upon), in order that, being sent forth by the servant of Jesus Christ, with comfort from on high, he might endure in the day of battle and triumph in the conflict. This priest was the Rev. Mr. Southworth, who absolved him before all the multitude, and bid him with the sign of Redemption, pass on to conquest and a crown of glory.'¹

John escaped death at this time, benefiting by a reprieve which had been granted some little time before, probably owing to the intercession of the Queen. Father Arrowsmith's trial followed so closely after arrest, that there was no opportunity to secure a stay, and Yelverton, greedy for blood, hastened the poor priest to his doom.²

¹ Foley. From an account of Fr. Arrowsmith's martyrdom by Cornelius Morphy.

² 'Some before his coming down from London had told him to his face that he durst not hang a priest.' (Foley). He anticipated the day of execution so that he might himself witness the priest's agony. For his beastly behaviour after the execution, see Hart's letter.

Among the Catholics present at the martyrdom was John Southworth's father, who, it is consoling to know, must have been in close intercourse with his son. The following story of an experience he had when witnessing Father Arrowsmith's death, appears in a manuscript account of the martyrdom now in the possession of the Bishop of Southwark.¹ 'In the time of his death there was a gentleman who was father unto Mr. Southworth, which was his fellow-prisoner, who [was] demanded at his return from [the] execution what ceremonies they used at the time of his death, who did sincerely protest that in the window of his chamber he saw a most resplendent brightness, such an one as in all his life he never saw before, which did show itself from the prison unto the gallows, as if it had a glistering glow, and the sun at that time was obscured with clouds, and the most part of that day likewise, which being related seemed wonderful unto us.'

Some of Father Arrowsmith's relics came into John's possession, notably his priestly apparel,

¹ The story also appears in a *MS.* at Oscott College, whose Archivist has kindly supplied me with the following transcript:

'Sub eo quo pendebat tempore, egregium quid accidit quod multorum animos in stupore adduxit. Dies enim nubibus plerumque obscurus, presertim sub martyris supendio et erat generosus quidam (cuius filius erat D. Suthworth Martyris concaptivus) amicis quid actum esset sub Edmundi morte postulantibus certissime affirmavit, vidisse clarissimam lucis speciem, a carcere ad patibulum usque protensam, in ore vitri resplendentis: cui simile quid nunquam antea per omnem vitam perspexit.'—*Butler MSS*, p. 523.

and part of his body¹ : these were passed by him into other and safer hands, and were the objects of much pious veneration.

We do not know how long John Southworth remained a prisoner at Lancaster, where Hart tells us he was 'very well esteemed of by Catholics.' The next mention that we find of him is in April, 1630, in a list of sixteen priests, whom the keeper of the Clink prison is ordered to deliver to the French ambassador for transportation beyond the seas. Here is the Royal Warrant as given by Prynne (of whom more presently) in his book entitled *The Popish Royall Favourite* :

CHARLES R.

'Whereas on the 24 of March last, our pleasure was declared to the Lords of our Privy Councell, that at the instance of our dearest consort the Queen, and in regard of the peace betweene the two Crownes, we were graciously pleased that these priests and recusants here undernamed, who were then in severall prisons, should be released and delivered to the Marquesse *De Chasteauneuf*, Ambassadour extraordinary to Us from the French King, notwithstanding any former order against such releases and deliveries, with this further Declaration, That if any of them shall remaine in, or returne into the Kingdome, that Our expresse will and pleasure is, That the Law should passe on every such person without further favour, all of which was ordered accordingly, and

¹ Letter from Rev. Francis Barber (an old Douay boy) to Rev. T. White, November 8, 1628. (*West. Arch.*) 'Mr. Leigh hath his apparel in which the Priest was hung, and it is thought hath one of the quarters by this time.'

all the said persons, or divers of them, were brought unto you by severall Warrants. These are therefore to will and command you forthwith to deliver to the said Ambassadour, or to such persons as he shall appoint in that behalfe, all such of the said persons as are already come into your charge and custody, and all such as shall come to your charge hereafter by vertue of the aforesaid Order, and this shall be your sufficient Warrant : So as you do not deliver any other but the persons hereafter named, and that you returne a List of such as you shall deliver to the Lords of Our Privy Councell. Given under Our Signe Manuall at *Denmarke* house the eleventh day of Aprill, in the sixth yeere of our reigne.

John Dally.	Gilbert Brodin.	James Willandson.
Cornelius Crawley.	Roger Clay.	Richard Salvin.
John Southworth.	Tho. Gant	Tho. Ridale.
Reynault Mac-	alias	Brian Medcalfe.
Donnell.	Thornbrough.	Jo Seargin.
Palmer.	Middleton.	William Biddle.
	Stevens.	

To our Keeper of the Clinke, or to his Deputy.'

From the terms of this warrant we may conclude that John was transferred to London in March, 1630: that would mean that his imprisonment in Lancaster Castle lasted about three years.

Whether in obedience to instructions he was actually transported beyond the seas, is uncertain; Prynne in a marginal note to this particular article says, 'which was never executed in any point,' and Challoner writes, 'if ever he went abroad, he quickly returned again to his Master's work.' The probability is that he stayed in England, like many other priests, relying on the strong influences that prevailed at Court in favour

of the Catholics. Prynne lends colour to this when he informs us¹ that 'John Southworth, one of the 16 Priests released by the Kings forecited Warrant of *April 11, sexto Car.* to be sent beyond the Seas as was pretended ; continuing a dangerous seducer after his release, was afterwards committed againe to the *Clinke* prison by the Lords of the Privy-Councels warrant ; but yet for all that had free liberty to walke abroad at his pleasure (as most priests during their imprisonment, had, the more safely to seduce His Majesties good subjects, and open Masses in their prisons to boote).'

This second imprisonment in the Clink took place in 1632. In the archives of the Old Clergy Chapter is a list² of priests in the various prisons of London during that year, and John is mentioned as being in the Clink with four other Seculars, three Benedictines and one Dominican.

The Clink was one of five prisons situated at that time south of the Thames ; a Sewer Presentment of the year 1640, in the Guildhall Library, roughly indicates its position. It adjoined the palace of the Bishops of Winchester, and so was sometimes known as the Hall of Winchester (*Atrium Wintonense*). It is described by Brayley in his *History of Surrey* as a 'small place of confinement on the Bank-side, called the Clink, from being the prison of the "Clink liberty, or manor of Southwark," belonging to the Bishops of Winchester.'

¹ *The Popish Royall Favourite*, p. 24.

² See Foley, Series II, p. 279.

From numerous accounts which have come down to us from penal times it is evident that those detained in the Clink had considerably more comfort and liberty than was allowed in other prisons. Much of course depended on the gaoler, who was usually open to bribes. For example when Father Gerard the Jesuit was in the Clink, permission was given to the captives to leave their cells, to mix freely with each other, and even to meet Catholic visitors : Mass, too, was often celebrated and sermons were preached.

In the time of Charles I this liberty was particularly wide, and was only checked from time to time when the pursuivants or others raised the alarm and forced the King or his ministers to action. Thus in 1626 we read¹ of a raid made on the Clink, 'where all altars, copes, chalices, pictures, money, plate, and jewels, &c., were seized on, and were estimated at £4000.'

We must say a few words concerning William Prynne, on whose book, *The Popish Royall Favourite* (published at the 'Blue Bible' in Green Arbour, 1643) Challoner depends for practically all the information he can give us of John's priestly career in London. The book is a collection, published by authority of Parliament, of sundry Letters of Grace, Warrants and other Writings of King Charles and his Ministers, showing the favours and protections that were universally extended to Catholics.

¹ Birch, *Court and Times of Charles I*, Vol. I, p. 96. *Letter from Mead to Stuteville.*

Although Wood¹ asserts that 'his books be worth little or nothing, his proofs no arguments, and his affirmations no testimony,' and Dodd² complains that he had neither the humility nor the honesty to retract what he had published in about forty volumes, there is no reason to question the truth of the documented facts that he published in the book under question, and one can to some extent understand the fine fury that their cumulative effect arouses in his Puritanical and Parliamentary breast. By 1643 the breach between King and Parliament was complete, and no doubt Prynne's strong polemic served well his party's interest. This particular book was answered two years later by *A Loyall Vindication*, from the pen of an anonymous writer in the Royalist cause, who disputes Prynne's conclusions and insinuations rather than his facts.³

William Prynne was an utter-Barrister at Lincoln's Inn and quickly became a hero among his Puritan brethren, and it must be said for him that if he was ready to inveigh against the Laudian faction in the Church of England and against the tolerance shown to Catholics, he was no less ready to suffer for his own convictions.

Lingard describes him as of a 'morose and gloomy disposition.' He was a most prolific writer, having some two hundred books and pamphlets to his name, some of which brought him into serious trouble. For a supposed libel

¹ *Athen. Oxon.*, II, 459.

² *Church History*, III, p. 76.

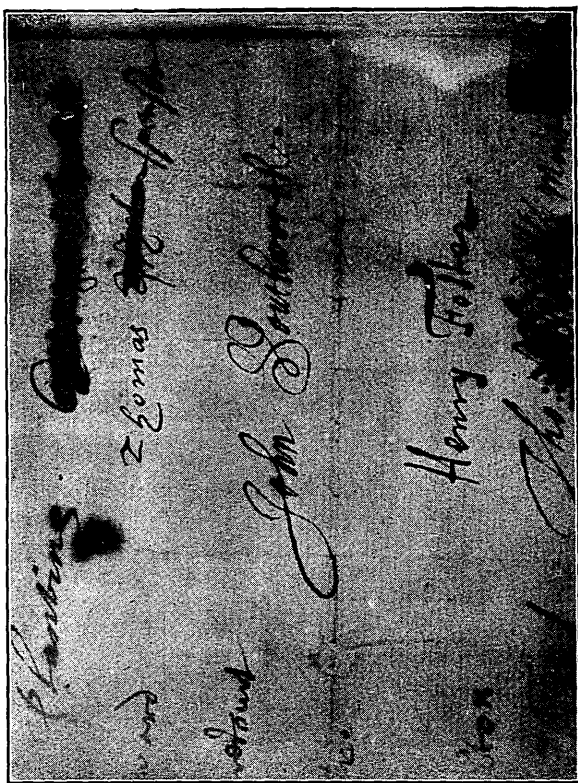
³ Except in one case which we shall discuss later.

on the Royal Family he was pilloried, fined, imprisoned, and deprived of both his ears. He got his ears 'sowed on again,' and even in prison continued to write pamphlets, for which he was again pilloried, fined and mutilated,¹ and eventually banished to Jersey. At the outbreak of the Civil War he was released and was one of the leading defenders of the Parliamentary cause. He lived to the ripe age of sixty-nine, and welcomed the Restoration, a strange pathetic figure of a man, always fighting, always writing, feared and hated, and often respected.

It was while John Southworth was a prisoner in the Clink that he set his signature to two letters despatched by the Secular clergy to Dr. Smith and Pope Urban VIII respectively, begging urgently that the Bishop should return to England.

We have seen that Dr. Smith, yielding to the outcry against him, withdrew to France in 1629: as a result of his retirement the burden of ecclesiastical government devolved upon a Dean and Chapter which had been instituted by William Bishop and confirmed by his successor, and this body managed a difficult situation as best it could. Both the supporters and the opponents of Dr. Smith in particular, and of an

¹ 'When the hangman sawed off Prynne's ears, a yell arose to which Charles should have listened in Whitehall, while yet it was heard there for the first time. It was a new sound even in old riotous England, for it was not the ancient voice of faction or of plunder, but the cry of deeper mutiny from brain and heart.' Trevelyan, *England under the Stuarts*, p. 181.



THE SIGNATURE OF BLESSED JOHN SOUTHWORTH

English Catholic episcopate in general, continued active in their respective protestations.

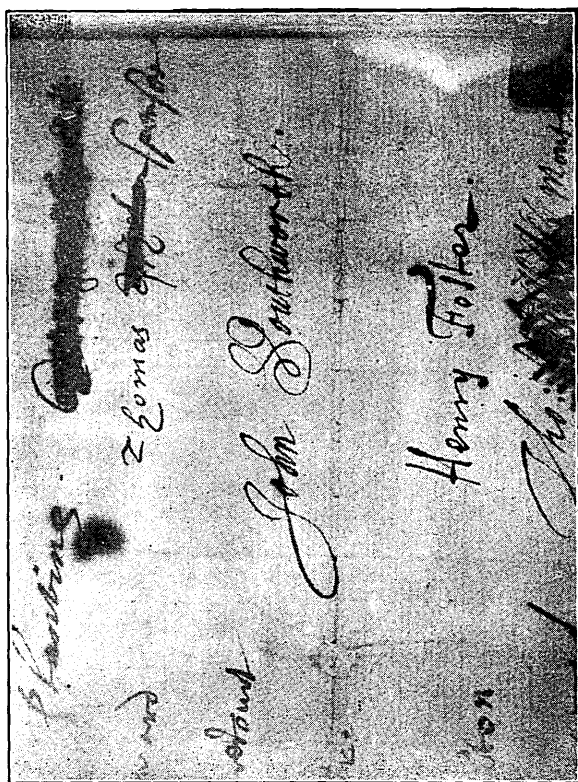
The letter to Dr. Smith (July 19, 1632) was signed by twenty-four of the clergy, and in it they claim the right as free men to choose the Ordinary to whom they wish to be subject. Dr. Smith, in face of all the difficulties that confronted him, was apparently thinking of resigning from his office, and they urge him not to think of doing this, and suggest that the Holy Father would not allow him to take such a step against the will of the clergy. They beg of him to put aside all delay and to return at once to his flock.¹

A month later a petition was sent to the Pope, imploring that the Bishop should be restored to England. This was signed by thirty priests representing London and the eastern shires, and John Southworth's name appears among them. They tell His Holiness that in England all is confusion: there is no order, no head; scandals abound; the sacraments, especially that of marriage, are profaned; let Bishop Smith be sent back to them, vested in no uncertain and questionable power but with an authority at once solid and irrefragable.²

Prior to this petition, letters in favour of Dr. Smith had been sent to Rome by the Queen and the French ambassador in London, and eventually the Holy Father, 'being sensible of the common infirmity of mankind, which inclines them to tell their story to their own advantage,'³ decided to

¹ *West. Arch.*, XXVI, 265. ² *West. Arch.*, XXVI, 307.

³ So Berington charmingly puts it.



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send an agent of his own to enquire on the spot into the differences dividing the Seculars and Regulars in England. The moment he chose was propitious—1634—when Laud was all-powerful and the Court was not averse to opening some sort of relations with the Holy See.

The first agent was a Benedictine, Father Leander, whose interpretations and proposals were considered unsatisfactory, and he was replaced by an Oratorian, Gregorio Panzani, who was well received at Court and did something towards the pacification of the warring elements on the English mission.¹ He expressed himself in favour of a Bishop for England, and here is part of his report on the matter² :

‘ I have understood that the major part are desirous of a bishop, as well for the honour and tranquillity of their church, and the administration of confirmation, as to see their religion freed from all abuses. In this number are many of the first nobility, and some in wealthy and easy circumstances, who offer him their houses, and to be security for his appearance, whenever he may be called for. There are numbers of other Catholics in favour of the bishop, who, though not of the first rank, are not less serviceable to their religion, and whose conduct is generally more guarded. Nor, indeed, some regulars and their partial followers excepted, can it be said that the bishop is really opposed ; for the greater part of those, who express opposition, are found, when the point is strictly canvassed, to condemn the assumption of an immoderate authority ; and having conceived that this was assumed or aimed at,

¹ ‘ Instrument of Peace ’ in *Memoirs of Panzani*, edited by Berington, 1793.

² Butler’s *Memoirs*, II, 344.

they sided with his enemies ; still, when the truth was made known to them, they, as did Earl Rivers, withdrew their opposition. But, however limited the bishop's jurisdiction may be, many of the regulars, from the injury they conceive it would cause to their interests and their dignity, and from the shame which would redound from their discomfiture in the dispute, would only persevere in their resistance.'

However, Bishop Smith never returned to England : he lived in France, for a time under the protection of Cardinal Richelieu, and died in Paris in 1655, a year after John Southworth's martyrdom. No bishop was appointed in his place until thirty years later, when John Leyburne was made Vicar-Apostolic of all England (1685).

As regards Panzani's attempt to effect a friendly communication between Rome and London in the form of reciprocal agents by means of which the re-union of England with the Catholic Church might be effected, high hopes were expressed on either side, but the change of political fortunes put an end to any progress in that direction, and intercourse with Rome was altogether discontinued in 1642. The Civil War had then broken out.

Apart from these special matters, Panzani's *Memoirs* provide us with very valuable information concerning the state of Catholicity in England at this epoch of John Southworth's life. He tells us that the Catholics numbered one hundred and fifty thousand, that some of them, especially among the nobility, for worldly considerations did not profess their religion openly, though many

kept priests secretly in their houses; others actually lived to all appearances as Protestants, though they were Catholics at heart. Panzani says that while he was in London, almost all the principal nobility who died, although generally reputed Protestants, died Catholics. The Queen's chapel and those of the ambassadors were a great help to the Catholics, and there the ceremonies of the Church were observed in their fullness, sacraments administered and sermons preached. Protestants frequently attended and many were converted. In London there were many other chapels and some in the large country houses, to which the neighbouring Catholics resorted. The penal laws were still in force and there was always danger from the activities of the pursuivants: the Oath of Allegiance also was a burden on the Catholics, but at the time it was not often tendered. As regards the missionary priests, they were not appointed to any special sphere of work, but settled down as pleased their convenience, generally in the houses of the laity. Their numbers we learn from Father Leander's report, which tells us that there were in England at the time over five hundred Secular priests, about two hundred and fifty Jesuits and some ten Benedictines.

These facts and figures are very formidable, and taken in conjunction with the policy of the Court and the tendencies of the Church of England at that time, lead one to excuse the opinion put forth by Father Philip, Queen Henrietta's chaplain, that if the different currents then flowing

were to continue in the direction in which they were set, all the Kingdom would become Catholic in less than three years ! The wrongheadedness of the King, the folly of Canterbury and the exasperation of a Puritan Parliament, strained at last to breaking-point, quickly destroyed this dream.

¹ See *Appendix III* for an interesting account of the state of Catholicism in England about the end of the year 1632.

IV

MISSIONARY LABOURS IN ENGLAND (*cont.*)

1636-1654

OF John's movements during the period of Panzani's mission we cannot be exactly certain: it would appear that for some reason or other he was transferred from the Clink to the Gatehouse prison at Westminster¹ and was not there very straitly confined, living rather in the manner of a 'vagrant prisoner,' and resident at times in Clerkenwell. He appears to have been outside the intrigues that distracted many of his fellow-missionaries, and the presumption is that he was working amongst the poor Catholics of the City.

We next come across him in the year 1636, when London was afflicted with a visitation of the plague, and he was especially chosen by his superiors to work in conjunction with Father Henry Morse, S.J., in the relief of Catholics stricken by the disease. The reader will remember that Henry Morse came to Douay when John Southworth had nearly completed his course there, and it is pleasing to meet them again engaged on this noble and apostolic work.

¹ See *infra*, *Petition* of the Rev. R. White, p. 84.

The outbreak of plague in 1636 was one of four such disasters that befell England in the seventeenth century. The first was in 1603, and claimed 30,361 victims; the second in 1625, with a death-roll of 35,417; the third, with which we are here concerned, in 1636, when the deaths were computed at 12,102. The last and Great Plague was in 1665, with the large mortality of 68,596.¹ These outbreaks were not entirely isolated, and actually between 1603 and 1636 the plague was hardly ever absent, and deaths ranged from 1000 to 4000 annually.

A general picture of the horrible sufferings and hardships undergone by the plague-stricken and the general conduct of rich and poor in the face of so terrible a danger is given in the various contemporary accounts that have come down to us. In studying the State Papers and Chronicles of the year 1636 one encounters the same stories of heroism and cowardice, of abject terror and lofty equanimity, of loving devotion and awful neglect. John would have been familiar with the scenes in Westminster, when 'on the deaths of persons of the contagion of the sickness the searchers go with white wands in their hands, the red cross and the bill "Lord have mercie upon us" set apparent on the doors."² The Public Records tell us of the numerous precautions that

¹ See Besant's *London in the Time of the Stuarts*.

² So the Justices of the Peace for Westminster. See *Dom. Papers, Chas. I.* for the years 1636-1637. Also Ewald's *Stories of the State Papers*, Vol. II, and Rushforth's *Memorials*, Vol. II.

were taken against the spread of the infection and for the relief of the sick: in September, 1636, command is given that public collections be made for the poor of London and Westminster and the money given to the Lord Mayor for distribution: in the following month we read that all persons in authority were absent from the City because of the plague: the King, to avoid the pestilence, shares his time between Oatlands (where the Queen was residing) and Windsor: he orders a National Fast in order to propitiate the anger of an offended heaven. To curb the ravages of the disease, pest-houses were improvised in the open fields and thither the afflicted were conveyed or driven when and wherever they were detected. All who could, sought safety in flight, leaving behind a host of working-men, craftsmen, journeymen and servants, workless and wageless, and of these the plague took heaviest toll.

It is a high tribute to the character of John Southworth that he of all his brethren was chosen to the heroic task of administering to the spiritual and temporal needs of Catholics in the infected areas of the town. And not only to Catholics did he and his fellow-labourer, Father Morse, bring help and consolation, but to those of other sects as well, and their fortitude and charity were the means of bringing many to the fold of the Church. They made lists of all the houses of Catholics in the districts committed to their charge, watched day and night by the beds of the sick and dying, reconciling the sinner and the lapsed, caring for the needs of the indigent and the starving.

Day by day they went in danger of their lives, visiting rooms that were foul, squalid and pestilential, and constantly in close contact with the victims of the plague: added to this peril were the snares and nets set by the pursuivants, who were goaded into greater activity by those who noted with jealous eyes the good works and powerful influence of these two Catholic priests. The Annual Letters of the English Province of the Society of Jesus for the year 1636 relate several particulars of the great work they accomplished in the salvation of souls, of wonderful reconciliations at the point of death, of the multitude of Protestant families received into the Church, and of the relief of temporal necessities.

One passage shows us something of the burning zeal which animated John Southworth: 'Father Morse, in the first days of his attendance on the sick, whether overpowered at the outset by the formidable and noisome symptoms of the disease, or anxious to leave none of the daily increasing number of patients without the most necessary help, or else deeming it prudent to avoid a less necessary danger, satisfied himself with administering the Sacraments of Penance and of the Blessed Eucharist, and omitted that of Extreme Unction. His secular coadjutor [John Southworth] hearing of this omission, began to complain of what he called the unworthy timidity of his fellow-labourer. But Father Morse, hearing of this report, submitted to the charge with religious humility, and, blaming none but himself, at once discarded his apprehen-

sions and administered to the infected all the aids of religion.’¹ Another little difference turned on a doubt as to the validity of Father Morse’s missionary faculties—a point linked with the long problem of the Regulars’ complaint against the jurisdiction of Bishop Smith; but charity overcame that, and the two worked loyally together throughout the spring and summer of 1636, until September 8, when Father Morse was himself stricken down by the plague, and the burden of the work—the care of some five or six hundred families—fell on John’s shoulders alone.

It was not unnatural that the great activities of these two priests should disturb Puritan feelings, and William Prynne is our authority for action taken by a clergyman of St. Margaret’s, Westminster. We give the passage in full:²

‘How dangerous a seducer this *Southworth*, alias *Southwell* was, appears by this Petition of *Robert White*, Sub-Curate of *St. Margaret’s* Parish in *Westminster* to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, against him, the last great sicknesse, 1636,

“Most humbly sheweth, That the Petitioner ever since the beginning of this grievous visitation in *Westminster*, hath used all the paines and diligence that possibly he could, to serve the Cure in the absence of Dr. *Wimberley*; and being imployed by divers charitably disposed people to distribute their Almes amongst the most indigent and distressed sort of

¹ Foley, *Records*, Series I, p. 576.

² *Popish Royall Favourite*, p. 25. See also *Dom. Papers*, *Chas. I*, Vol. XXII, p. 109.

people, he hath observed TWO POPISH PRIESTS to frequent *Westminster*, one of which is called *Southwell*, who is, and long hath been a prisoner in the *Gatehouse*, but lives about *Clerkenwell*. This *Southwell*, under a pretence of distributing Almes, sent FROM SOME OF THE PRIESTS IN SOMERSET HOUSE OR OTHER PAPISTS, doth take occasion to goe into divers visited Houses in *Westminster*, and namely to the houses of one *William Baldwin* and *William Stiles* in the *Kemp-yard* in *Westminster*, and there finding *Baldwin* neere the point of death, did set upon him by all meanes to make him change his religion, whereunto by his subtile perswasions *Baldwin* easily consented, and received the Sacrament from him according to the Church of *Rome*, and so died a *Romish-catholique*. And in the same manner he perverted *William Stiles*, who also died a *Romish-catholique*. And *Southwell*, to colour and hide these wicked practices, doth fee the *Watchmen*, and other poore people thereabouts, that they should affirme he comes onely to give Almes. And thus under a pretence of relieving the bodies of poore people, he poysons their soules.

“Now, may it please your Grace, the Petitioner having no meanes to apprehend these Priests, or to stop this danger and dishonour to our Religion, doth humbly implore your Graces favour and zeale, that some speedy course may be taken to hinder the progresse thereof; and that not onely for the confirming and settling of poore people in our religion, but also to prevent a great danger which may ensue to the *Queenes Majesty* at her comming to *Denmarke-house*,¹ for that divers poore people newly turned *Romish-catholiques* doe commonly frequent the *Masse* at *Denmark-house*; And three of those poore people watched all night with

¹ i.e. the danger of infection.

William Stiles immediately before he died, and the next day went thither to Masse. A most wicked course if it should not be remedied.”’

As a result of this petition both priests (Father Morse had made a speedy recovery from the disease), on the order of a Justice of the Peace, were apprehended in the midst of their ministrations. John Southworth was immediately cast into prison in the Gatehouse at Westminster: Father Morse, not admitting his priesthood,¹ was dealt with more leniently and kindly dismissed, the magistrate remarking: ‘You Catholics are much more liberal to the poor than are the Protestants.’ But John’s indomitable courage was not easily damped: he managed somehow to get about at intervals and carry on with his good work. In October we find him and his fellow-labourer issuing an appeal to all Catholics to assist their work by alms. Contributions had already been given some months before, and Queen Henrietta had shown a generous example. But with the persistence of the pestilence the funds at their disposal had become sorely depleted, and they found it necessary to make a further appeal. They did this by means of a printed circular, a copy of which is extant in the *Westminster Archives*.² We give it in full here, as it is the only document of public importance that we know to have come from the pen of John Southworth.

¹ See Foley, *Records*, Series I, p. 578.

² XXVIII, 545.

TO THE CATHOLICKES OF ENGLAND

RIGHT HONOURABLE, RIGHT WORSHIPFULL, AND MUCH
RESPECTED,

We underwritten being appointed to serve the infected Catholicks of the Citty and Suburbs of London, with our spiritual assistance, having seen with our eyes the extreme necessity which many of the poorer sort are fallen into, by reason of the present sickness, do thinke ourselves obliged even in conscience, to make the same knowne unto you, by a publicke letter, to the end that those, whom God hath ble'st with sufficient ability and meanes, taking so weighty a matter into their serious consideration, may, through the help of his holy grace, resolve with themselves forthwith, to do what in them lieth, and what in such an exigent Christian charity and duty bindeth everyone unto, for the necessary support and relief of so great a multitude.

Wee do protest unto you seriously, even upon our soules and consciences, that the greatnesse of this calamitie exceedeth all belief, in so much as wee should never have imagined in the least part, of that which really is, had not our owne eyes, and daily experience attested the same unto us, and wee may truly averre, that this so great a desolation amongst our poore brethren, joyned with the small meanes and power wee have, to relieve them, is a farre more grievous affliction unto us then all the labours and dangers, which wee undergoe daily for their spirituall ayde and comfort.

There are some persons in the number of these afflicted, who, notwithstanding they were well borne, and bred, having beene constrained, through extremity of want, to sell, or pawne all they had, remaine shut up within the bare walls of a poore chamber, having not wherewithall to allay the rage of hunger, nor scarcely to cover naked-

nesse. There are others, who for the space of three dayes together have not gotten a morsell of bread to put into their mouths. Wee have just cause to fear, that some doe perish for want of food : others for want of tendance ; others for want of ordinary helpes and remedies, with which they might easily escape death, and be cured. At this present there are above fifty severall families, which are visited and shut up ; and truly such is the feeling, which many of these poore creatures have, of this their most wretched state, that finding themselves deprived of meanes whereby to live (all manner of work fayling them at this time), they are brought even to the brinke of despaire, wishing from their heart to be ceaz'd upon with the sicknesse (if God were so pleased), thereby to hasten death, and with it, the end of this their languishing paine, which to them is worse than death it selfe.

The example of the Protestants, both in the Citty and the Countrey (which is well knowne to all) may bee no small inducement unto Catholicks to imitate their care, providence and bounty in this behalfe. We have heard of some particulars amongst them, which are very memorable. One noble man of theirs hath bestowed lately the summe of three hundred pounds, leaving it to the distribution of a Gentleman of good quality, who tooke the paines to visit the houses of the poore himselfe, and to devide it amongst them with his owne hands. An other party of account (Sonne to an Alderman of London) hath been seene to goe in person to seeke out the poore that wanted worke, being neighbours to such as were infected, and with his owne hands to bestow a large benevolence amongst them. And if those who acknowledge no merit in good workes, out of a generous minde, or naturall compassion are so ready to assist their distressed brethren so plentifully ; it may seeme that no lesse, but rather much more should bee expected at the hands of Catholicks, who professing to believe the doctrine of merit, have thereby

a farre higher motive than Protestants have to performe workes of Charity, and to open the bowells of mercy, especially in a time of so generall and pressing necessity, towards their poore and desolate brethren, who have no expectation or hope of relief from any, but from them alone.

This publicke Declaration wee have judged necessary to make to all English Catholicks, particularly to those that are of ability, for the discharge of our owne soules, requesting, or rather conjuring all in generall, and everyone in particular by the bowells of our Saviour Jesus Christ to make it their own case, and to have that saying of *St. John* the Evangelist alwayes before their eyes, *He that shall have the substance of the world, and shall see his brother have neede, and shall shut his bowels from him how doth the Charity of God abide in him?*

6. of October, 1636.

J.S. H.M.

Permissu Superiorum.¹

The result of this joint appeal was immediately successful, and a considerable sum was raised—more than eight hundred gold crowns, and necessary relief was given to the suffering Catholics throughout the severe winter months. But the pursuivants having laid John by the heels, were restless in their pursuit of Father Morse, who eventually fell into their clutches, was cast

¹ The copy of this Appeal in the *West. Arch.* bears the following testimonial, written in ink in the lower margin: 'We underwritten do testify that this letter or Declaration is not feigned but a true and reall thing, and that there is no other end intended thereby, but only to procure due relief for the poor Catholics of London.' It is signed by George Muscott, who was Vicar-General in the London District, and John Southcott, one of the Archdeacons.

into Newgate Prison (March 26) and tried at the Old Bailey Sessions in April, 1637. The charge of treason, however, was not proved against him and he escaped the death penalty, being at last (May) respited by the King at the intercession of the Queen.¹ The reprieve was granted on condition that he left the realm and returned to his friends beyond the sea. Father Morse left England for Belgium, and did not return until 1643.

John Southworth meantime was more straitly confined in the Gatehouse, and about the time of Father Morse's acquittal, he sent a petition to the Queen, imploring her intercession on his behalf. This petition is extant among the *Clarendon State Papers* at Oxford,² and reads as follows :

To the Queene's most Excellent Matie:

The humble petition of John Southworth prisoner in the Gatehouse
sheweth

That the petr having visited some sick of the plague : as hee hath daily don, since the plague begun : and releevd them and others, ready to starve and perish wth almes, given by yo^r Matie, and other charitable people. In the latter end of this labor : Mr. White, curate of Westminster, coming neare unto the place, wheare the petr was, and seing him come out of an infected house : was

¹ See Foley, *Records*, Series I, pp. 589-90.

² *Bodleian MSS.*, No. 1033. Foley prints it in a footnote, Series I, p. 579, but is inaccurate in some details (*e.g.* 'welcomed' for 'releevd,' 'being' for 'seeing'). Mr. T. Gambier Parry of Oxford University has very kindly collated Foley's copy with the original, and this corrected transcript is given above.

much offended therewth : complained of him : and so farre prevayled : that Sr Dudley Carlton, Cleark to his Maties privie Counsell, directed a warrant to the Keeper of the Gatehouse, commanded him to take the petr into his chardg, and deteyn him in prison, w^{ch} he hath don ever since.

May it therefore please y^{or} Excellencie to move his Matie that seing the petr labored, only to preserve the poore from perishing w^{ch} hee thought wold neither offend his Matie nor the State) it wold graciously please his Matie to give the petr leave to goe to his frends for meanes : that hee himself may not nowe perish in prison.

And the petr will (as in duty bound) ever pray for both Y^{or} Maties. (endorsed) SOUTHWORTH.

As to the result of this petition of John's, Prynne is our only informant, and he tells us that 'by the Queene's and Windebank's powerful meanes, his finall triall was put off, to the great discontent of the people, and he not long afterwards released, even neere the very time that Dr. *Bastwick*, Mr. *Burton*, and Mr. *Prynne*, were most grievously censured in the Starchamber, and most barbarously pillory'd, deprived of their eares, stigmatized';—actually the sentences against these three Puritans were carried out in June, 1637. By the time he was released¹ the plague was abating, and in fact by the end of the summer it had practically disappeared. John continued working amongst the Catholics of Westminster, and though his burden was lighter than when he

¹ A petition, similar to that of Mr. White's, was lodged by one Haywood on March 15, 1637. Here John Southworth appears as John Sother, a prisoner in the Gatehouse. *P.R.O. Dom. Chas. I*, Vol. 22, 499.

was ministering to the afflicted, he was never free from the vexatious attentions of the persecutors. In November, 1637, I find from a paper in the Public Record Office,¹ that Secretary Windebank gives an order to the keeper of the Gatehouse 'to repair to the house of one *Spencer*, a victualler in Westminster, and there to take into custody John Goodman² and John Southworth and detain them until further order.' This action of Windebank's was probably a sop to Puritan feeling, and it seems that no serious restraint was put on the liberty of the two priests. John Goodman, at a later date when enjoying a royal reprieve which much angered Parliament, gallantly offered to waive the privilege and to suffer death, if in so doing he might mend the bad feeling growing up between Sovereign and people. Parliament was touched by his gesture, and he was left in prison, where he languished and died a Confessor for the faith in 1645.

John Southworth was not long allowed to be at large. A decree³ of the Commissioners of Causes Ecclesiastic under date June 24, 1640, implies that sometime between 1637 and 1640 he had again found his way to the Clink prison, but under what circumstances we cannot say. The above Decree, which is addressed to the keeper of the Clink Prison, and his deputy, states that

¹ *Dom. Chas. I*, S.P. Vol. XVI, p. 372.

² Challoner seems ignorant of this arrest of John Goodman. In his account of this confessor he says, 'he was apprehended in 1635, but discharged on giving bond for his appearance . . . he was taken up again in 1639.' ³ *Dom. Chas. I*, Vol. 28, p. 341.

‘John Southworth, a Popish recusant, has been convented before us for matters of ecclesiastical cognizance, and has refused to give sufficient bond for his appearance to answer the matters objected against him. We having understood that he was formerly committed by a warrant from the Council to the Clink, and is still a prisoner there, have therefore thought fit by virtue of our commission to remand him back to the said prison until order be given for his enlargement.’ Referring to this incident Prynne¹ says: ‘being apprehended and brought *before some* of the *High-Commissioners*, and refusing to give bond to appeare before them (though the good men never did such Romish-vermin any harme in their terrible Court, a Spanish Inquisition onely to torture Puritans and no other persons), he was sent to the *Clink* by their warrant under the Seale of the Court.’

Less than a month later (actually July 16, 1640) he was set at liberty again owing to the good offices of Secretary Windebank: the warrant for his release was as follows:²

‘These are to will and require you forthwith on the sight hereof, to enlarge and set at liberty the body of *John Southworth* lately committed to your custody. For which this shall be your warrant. Dated at my house in *Drury-Lane*, 16th July, 1640.

FRANCIS WINDEBANK.

‘To the keeper of the Clinke, or to his Deputy or Deputies.’

¹ *Popish Royall Favourite*, p. 24.

² *Ibid.*, p. 24.

The writer of *A Loyall Vindication* (1645), a work to which we have referred previously,¹ questions the veracity of Prynne's information concerning John Southworth's movements at this time: 'and as for *Southworth* he was never afterwards committed to the Clink, and thence discharged (as the Accuser affirmeth) and for which he alledgeth a Warrant, which of necessity must be false; for he was sent to the Gatehouse where he broke Prison and escaped thence, and since then is gone, God knowes whither.'²

The State Papers³ prove Prynne to be right, and there is no ground for disputing the authenticity of Windebank's warrant. The fact is that John seems to have been rapidly transferred from one prison to another, and a further State Paper⁴ (Dec. 2, 1640) speaks of him as 'a condemned man now out of the Clink and in the Gatehouse.' This reference is in a letter in which the prison authorities betray considerable fear for themselves on account of Windebank's past interventions on behalf of Catholic priests. The date (Dec. 2, 1640) is very interesting: by that time the Long Parliament was conscious of its strength and openly challenging the King and his Ministry: Strafford had been arrested, and the same fate was soon to overtake Laud: the temper of the country was mutinous. Actually on Decem-

¹ Page 73.

² Page 29. Copy in *Stanfield Library*. (Old Hall).

³ *Dom. Chas. I*, Vol. XXVIII.

⁴ *Dom. Chas. I*, S.P., XVI, p. 473.

ber 1, Windebank had been denounced in the House for the numerous documents he had signed in favour of priests and Jesuits: Parliament drew up ten articles and summoned him to answer them. Messengers were sent to his house and were informed that he was ill in bed; the same night he fled to Queenborough and made for Calais in an open shallop.¹

Dodd² says of him: 'he had always been a great friend to Catholics, and was suspected to hold a private correspondence with the Pope's agent³ to the queen, then residing in *London*, which plainly appears by the memoirs in my hand. This and some other negotiations being afterwards alledged against him, and articles of impeachment brought into the parliament, which met at *Westminster*, November 3, 1640, obliged Sir Francis to retire into France.'⁴

In the civil commotion that was to follow in the next decade, we lose sight entirely of our future martyr, finding no further record of him until the year 1653.

As the Puritan Parliament gathered strength it was a foregone conclusion that its hand would fall heavily on the Catholics; and the wildest of

¹ See Prynne's *Hidden Works of Darkness* (1645), pp. 125 seq., for an account of the charges against him, and for a description, written by his own hand, of his passage to France. A list is given of some twenty-seven priests released by Windebank, and John Southworth's name is among them.

² *Church History*, III, 59.

³ Panzani. See page 76.

⁴ The reader will find other details of his career in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

rumours concerning their activities¹ were circulated to inflame the worst feelings of an angry populace, and hostile Proclamations followed in quick succession. In the petition presented to the King at York, June, 1642, a month before the outbreak of the Civil War—the sixth article was to the effect that ‘the laws in force against Jesuits, priests, and popish recusants, be strictly put in execution, without any toleration or dispensation to the contrary; and that some more effectual course may be enacted, by authority of Parliament, to disable them from making any disturbance in the state, or eluding the law by trusts, or otherwise.’

The King’s hand was forced,² and twenty-three priests suffered death, the victims of political manœuvre. Said Blessed Bartholomew Roe at the gallows: ‘Here’s a jolly company! I say that the law of the 27th of Queen Elizabeth, which condemns a man to death for being a priest only, is a wicked, unjust and tyrannical law, a law not to be found even among the *Turks*, or elsewhere in the whole universe, *England* excepted.’ Blessed Thomas Reynolds, who suffered at the same time, prayed the blessing of God on Parliament ‘to send the Holy Ghost to teach them to do what is best for the kingdom and the Catholic Church.’ They were both heroic priests, and ‘dared look death in the face’ boldly and merrily.

¹ See Butler’s *Memoirs*, p. 398, for a typical example.

² The King gave reprieves to some, as in the case of John Goodman, mentioned above, p. 92.

In the same year Blessed John Lockwood and Blessed Edmund Catherick, both Secular priests, suffered at York, the clamour of Parliament again drowning the mercy of the King. The former was eighty-seven years of age: his head was fixed on the north gate of the city, close by the palace where Charles was staying, 'so that it was not possible,' says Challoner, 'for him to come out of the palace gate, or even look out from the east, but old *Eleazar's* bloody head was before his eyes, which must have affected his mind with some troublesome remembrances.'

Others who died in 1642, the first two of whom are now numbered among the *beati*, were Hugh Green, Thomas Holland, Edward Morgan and Thomas Bullaker.

It was about this period that the pursuivants again became very active and were given wide powers to apprehend anyone even suspected of being a Catholic: they could hale such an one before the magistrates, search their homes and seize their books and papers¹ and any other object which they imagined might be associated with Catholic worship.

In 1643 new ordinances came into force, sequestrating into the hands of Parliamentary committees two-thirds of the real and personal estates of Catholics: informers were rewarded by a

¹ To this Butler (in his *Memoirs*, p. 403) ascribes the extreme rarity of Catholic books published between the Reformation and the Revolution. Those familiar with the *Stanfield Library* at St. Edmund's will, therefore, realize the immense value of that excellent collection.

shilling in the pound on the value of property discovered by them and confiscated.¹ Two priests, both Franciscans, were executed this year, Henry Heath, at one time a student under Dr. Kellison at Douay, and Arthur Bell. They were both condemned under 27 Elizabeth, merely for the fact of their priesthood.

Of the comparatively few priests who suffered during the Civil War (most of them were captured by Parliamentary soldiers), we will only mention Edward Bamber and John Woodcock, who were martyred at Lancaster, the scene of John Southworth's earlier labours and imprisonment, and Fr. Henry Morse, S.J., his close friend and associate. This last had returned to England in 1643, was captured on the borders of Cumberland, escaped, and six weeks later was recaptured and sent to London. He was at once committed to Newgate, and inasmuch as he had been brought in guilty of priesthood some years before (see p.90) was at once sentenced to death.² As the cart was drawn away from under him, he was absolved by a priest standing by, according to an agreement between them. It was by a similar compact that John Southworth absolved Fr. Arrowsmith on his way to death, and I like to think that his intrepid spirit carried him to Tyburn on the

¹ For the sufferings of Catholics due to these harsh ordinances, the reader is referred to Challoner's extensive quotations from Knaresborough, who gives examples of the severity with which they were put into force. See also Lingard, Vol. VIII, Chap. V. *ad fin.*

² See Challoner, and Foley, Series I, pp. 593 seq.

morning of Fr. Morse's execution, and that he was able to give this last priestly consolation to his old friend and fellow-labourer.

Challoner states that for three years (1647-1650) he finds no priests put to death for their character. This interval witnessed the execution of Charles I, and the growing ascendancy of the Independents, who proclaimed themselves the champions of religious liberty. The change of masters, however, brought little relief to the Catholics, and by an act of 1650 the same reward was offered to the discoverers of priests and Jesuits as was granted to the apprehenders of highwaymen!¹ As a result several priests were cast into prison, tried and sentenced to death. One only, however, was actually executed (May 19, 1651), Blessed Peter Wright, chaplain to the Marquis of Winchester. The Independents 'shrunk from the odium of such sanguinary exhibitions, and transported the rest of the prisoners to the continent.'²

The year 1653 saw the fanatical antics of the Barebones' Parliament, its brusque dismissal and the 'instrument of Government,' which at last gave Cromwell the supreme power. The 'instrument,' for all its show of high principle, denied the vote to Catholics: 'all who professed faith in God by Jesus Christ were to be protected in the exercise of their religion,' except 'papists and those who taught licentiousness under the pretence of religion.'

¹ Lingard, Vol. VIII.

² Lingard, loc. cit.

John Southworth was to be the only priest who suffered under Cromwell, and it is conceivable that the Protector would have spared his life had he not been anxious to secure the goodwill of the 'godly' in the growing ranks of those disaffected towards him.

V

LAST DAYS ARREST, TRIAL AND MARTYRDOM

IN the early days of the Protectorate, according to Thurloe,¹ 'several consultations were had concerning the lamentable condition of the Catholics living under the new government, and concerning the legal power which Cromwell meant to assume: and this seemed to be the result of them, that it was fit something should be done which might put the Catholics of England in some security of their lives.'

But the fact that they had universally espoused the cause of the late King²—a pathetic fact when one ponders on all the sufferings that the Crown had brought to their body for a century or more—aggravated the feelings of the party in power against them. Even the moderates in the new Government, who as Thurloe indicates, seemed ready to initiate measures towards their relief, were anxious in the matter of the supposed inconsistency of Catholic principle with the constitution of a civil government. It was the

¹ *State Papers*, I, 740.

² Challoner, quoting Lord Castlemain's List of Catholics who lost their lives for their loyalty.

old troublesome question as to how far a Catholic admitted that his allegiance to the Pope could free him from allegiance to the civil power under which he lived, or how far he was ready to allow the one to over-ride the other. Unhappily the Catholics were unable to ease the minds of critical enquirers on this point. As early as 1647, when hopes were entertained of patching up the quarrel between King and Parliament, three propositions,¹ which represented the nervousness in the matter of the average thoughtful Protestant, were framed, and the negative was signed by many of the prominent laity and several of the clergy. But as a body, Catholics were frightened off the question by the unsympathetic attitude of Rome and the English public was left to draw the only natural conclusion.²

The Royalist interest, also, active from abroad, did all in its power to thwart a *rapprochement* between the Catholics of England and the new Government, seeing in such a step an infinite

¹ They are given by Butler (*Memoirs*, p. 414). 1st. That the Pope, or the Church, have power to absolve all persons of what ever quality they may be, from the obedience due to the civil government, established in the kingdom of England. 2nd. That it is lawful in itself, or by the dispensation of the Pope, to violate a promise, or oath, made to a heretic. 3rd. That it is lawful, by the dispensation, or by the commandment, of the Pope, or of the Church, to kill, destroy, or outrage, and offend, in any other manner, any person whatever, or several persons, of what condition soever they be, for this reason, that they are accused, condemned, censured, or excommunicated for error or heresy.

² Butler (loc. cit., p. 417) speaks very strongly of the policy adopted by Rome in this matter.

prejudice to the royal cause. Charles II is said to have warned the Catholics that they deceived themselves 'if they thought the actual government favourable to them, and would soon find their error if they trusted to their hollow professions.'

And so, despairing of any immediate redress, they went their way as quietly and unostentatiously as they could, protected in some measure by the heavy shadows cast by the big political movements that swept across the country. Disillusioned of all the hopes they had entertained in the time of Charles I, hopes which we have seen ran very high in the hearts of some, they were content to hold what little they had got, and were happy on the whole to escape an attention which would have brought them nothing but evil.

It was a waiting period for the Catholic Church in England, and it is not surprising that in the case of John Southworth we have hardly any record at all of his movements and activities during this time. I think he was in London, probably in the neighbourhood of Westminster, fulfilling his duties as a simple missionary, ministering to the poor, whom he had learned to love so much, revered by them and admired by all his fellow-priests on account of his simple apostolic life.

There is just one slight notice of him in the year 1653 to be found in the *Westminster Archives*.¹ This is in connection with a General

¹ XXX, 559.

Assembly of the Clergy held in July (11th-18th), when representatives of the Seculars of England and Wales met the Dean and Chapter to discuss and resolve upon matters affecting their interests.

We have already seen (pp. 53, 74) that the Chapter was originally set up by Dr. Bishop in 1623, and that on the retirement of Dr. Smith to the continent, the care of the Church in this country was committed into its hands. Dr. Smith, of course, still continued Ordinary of England, the Chapter being his executive. It consisted of a Dean and twenty other members, and there were also five Vicars-General and twenty-six Archdeacons with Rural Deans.¹ I have come across a document, dated August 6, 1649, in which Dr. Smith makes appointments through his Chapter, to offices in the eastern and southern counties of England, and part of it for its general interest is worth quoting, especially as it informs us as to John Southworth's immediate ecclesiastical superiors at that time: 'your Vicar-General of these counties following is *Mr. George Gage*, namely of the cities of London and Westminster, and of the counties of Middlesex, Kent, Surrey, Sussex, Essex, Hartfordshire, Bedfordshire, Northamptonshire, Huntingdonshire, Cambridge-shire, Oxfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Barkshire, Norfolk and Suffolk. Your Archdeacons in this district are as follows: of London, Westminster, their suburbs and of Middlesex the said *Mr.*

¹ Dr. Smith in 1625 limited the number of the Chapter to thirty.

George Gage ; Archdeacon of Kent and Surrey, *Mr. George Warham* ; Archdeacon of Sussex, *Mr. Richard Lane* ; Archdeacon of Essex, Hartfordshire and Bedfordshire, *Mr. Robert Holby* ; Archdeacon of Northampton, Huntingdon and Cambridge, *Mr. Antony Whiteare* ; Archdeacon of Oxford, Buckingham and Barkshire, *Mr. Richard Page* ; of Norfolk and Suffolk, *Mr. Thomas Green*. Which seven Archdeacons have power each of them to constitute their several coadjutors or Rural Deans in their respective districts. You are therefore earnestly desired to reverence and obey these your superiors, and they (to their utmost powers) to comfort and assist you. And if at any time there be occasion for any of you to recurr to the Deane and Chapter residing at London for any special cause, you shall ever find them ready to concur (as much as in them lies) to your further comforts.'

Several letters of George Gage, who in the terms of the above document was John Southworth's superior in London, are extant in different collections. In these he reveals himself as a strange, if interesting character, a man of sudden tempers, agile in thought and sharp in expression, with an abundant gift of humour: he appears to have resided at the house of the Portuguese Ambassador and in political questions to have taken sides against Spain, thus making powerful enemies. Some of his fellow-clergy, too, on other accounts fell into disagreement with him, and he would appear to have crossed swords

with John Southworth in one or two matters, the content of which I have been unable to discover.¹

We have seen earlier that our martyr was a staunch supporter of the re-established episcopate, and he was no less loyal to the Dean and Chapter, when they became the Bishop's deputies after Dr. Smith's forced retirement from England. As early as 1630 (April 22) shortly after he had been released from the Clink (see p. 69), he appears among a list of contributors to a fund opened by the Bishop for the benefit of the body of the English clergy, and he made a generous gift of £200.² Again in 1637 (June 8) he contributed a further £50 towards the same work.

Further evidence of his deep attachment to the cause of the Secular clergy is found in a document which bears his signature together with those of thirteen other priests. I imagine that this was framed and signed shortly after the publication of Dr. Smith's new appointments in

¹ The only satisfactory account at present available of the life of Fr. George Gage will be found in Vol. XI of the *Cath. Rec. Soc.*, Appendix D.

² 'Wee whose names are here underwritten do freely give to the body of the English Clergy the summe of two hundred pounds sterling apiece, reserving onely to ourselves the rent-charge thereof during our natural lives and a yeere after to be applied for the benefitt of our soules by the Deane and Chapter. Dated at London the 22 day of April anno Domini 1630.' A list of fifty-three names follows. Thirty-three of the signatories give £200. Two martyrs' names appear in the list, Blessed John Southworth and Blessed William Ward.

1649, and following a special direction from him : the ten points were submitted to the Secular priests of England, and they were urged to subscribe to them without scruple. John Southworth, with ready obedience, was among those who signed at once.

We whose names are underwritten in order to the common good of our body make these ensuing promises and agreements.

1. We sincerely promise without any equivocation or mental reservation, in the words of Christians and of what we are, that we will give all due obedience to the Right Rev. Father in God Lord Bishop of Chalcedon and to his successors, to His Lp's Vicar-Generals, to his Dean and Chapter and to all other His Lp's Officers, and that we will be faithful to the affairs of the secular clergy and whensoever God shall call us to be of any other Body that we will acquaint the superiors of the said clergy therewith before we make any vow or promise to that purpose and that we have not already made any such vow or promise.

What follows is not under tye of oath but of purpose and intention

2. That we will address to our own Brethren rather than to others both in matters of ordinary communication and especially of the Sacraments using notwithstanding a charitable civility and fair comportment to all other orders.

3. That we will endeavour to make provision for such as are newly come over (and have not competent friends or Patrimony) till such time as places can be found for them, as also for such of our Brethren as are imprisoned, and this by Collections of our own, if the common purse fail.

4. That we will advise with our Vicar-General or

his Archdeacon concerning the marriage of Catholics with Protestants and in all other difficult cases.

5. That we will not accept of any burdensome obligation for the Chapter without the consent thereof and that we will say one Mass a month for the Clergie's benefactors living and dead.

6. That we will not without urgent necessity dispute cases of conscience before lay people nor vent contrary opinions in the residences of our brethren to their disparagement.

7. That we will obey the Pope's new Breve for the observation of the holidays and will endeavour to bring others to the like obedience by all the sweet meanes we can, so the whole clergy may proceed conformably to one another and to His Holiness' commands.

8. That we will neither enter into nor leave any residence without acquainting our Vicar-General or his Archdeacon therewith.

9. That we will say one Mass apeace for every priest of the secular clergy as soon as we hear of their death and will endeavour to signify the same to the officers of each district.

10. That we will at our death (in case we die worth one hundred pounds) give a fifth part of what we shall die possessed of, unto our Body of the secular clergy, but in case we die not worth one hundred pound, then we shall give a seventh part only unto our said Body.

[Fourteen signatures, including John Southworth's].

The document is an interesting one, disclosing as it does the peculiar difficulties and problems that faced the Clergy in their attempts to organize themselves into a united and efficient body, and revealing at the same time the manifold drawbacks attaching to the absence of ordinary ecclesiastical jurisdiction on the English mission.

Some of these problems have already half revealed themselves up and down the course of our narrative.

The General Assembly of the Clergy¹ which met in the summer of 1653, faced all these difficulties with much thoroughness, and passed resolutions embracing the matter covered by the above ten points and much else besides. By this Assembly the Dean and Chapter acquired a more direct and permanent establishment than it had ever possessed before, and its proceedings, of which we fortunately possess full accounts, will prove of deep importance to the future historian of English Catholicism of the seventeenth century. It would be beside our purpose to enter into them in any detail here: and we only touch on them because John Southworth was one of the body concerned and actively interested in all that took place.

Briefly then, practical steps were taken to organize the activities of the missionary priests, to secure an adequate distribution of labour and the establishment of permanent self-supporting 'missions'; a close correspondence between superiors and subjects was ensured and also a closer contact with the Ordinary; measures were adopted to bring the Secular superiors in more intimate relationship with the heads of houses like Douay, whose President depended directly

¹ *West. Arch.*, XXX, p. 559. 'Points consulted in ye generall meeting of the Clergie beginning on the 11 of July, 1653 and ending on the 18 of the same, with the resolutions, ordres and advices of the Consulters.'

upon Rome, and who was not bound in any way to follow advice from England. A permanent superior was appointed to reside in London, and he was given a secretary and servant; his functions were to find places for new priests, generally to attend to the common interest and to follow the political situation so that in an emergency concerted action could be expected from the clergy; an agent, too, was to be appointed to represent the clergy at the Court of Rome. As Bishop Smith was aged, a course of action to be taken in the event of his death, was decided upon, and immediate suggestion was made to him that he should at once ask for one or more coadjutors so that the episcopal succession might not fail: in the event of such failure, it was resolved that all should 'stand in modest defence of the Dean and Chapter.' For the maintenance of these permanent officers it was decided that 'seven score pounds be rayased out of England and Wales,' half of this sum for the support of the Superior in London and half for the Agent at Rome. Collections were to be made in the various districts and were not to continue longer than three years. The assessment of each district was agreed upon and collectors were duly appointed. It is in this last matter that we come across the name of Blessed John Southworth:

Item, out of London and Westminster and Middlesex £25, to be collected by Mr. Andrew Knightley and Mr. John Southwood (*sic.* for Southworth).

This is the last reference to our martyr that I have been able to find¹ in any papers that have come to my notice. The account, which follows, of his arrest, trial and martyrdom, is taken for the most part from Challoner, supplemented by information that I have been able to glean from other quarters, notably the Foreign State Papers in the Record Office, the *Westminster Archives* and the Gaol Delivery Rolls of Newgate.

Our first quotation is from Challoner's extract from *A Letter from a gentleman in the city to a gentleman in the country, about the odiousness of persecution* :²

The last Popish priest that was put to death in *England* for being a priest of the *Romish* Church, was put to death in the time of *Cromwell*. I suppose we are not to doubt of the passionate heat which inflamed those who were then in authority against the Papists and Popery. They looked upon the Papists as mortal enemies to their government, and as fast friends and devoted servants to the crown and royal family. Notwithstanding which, when the said priest came upon his trial at the sessions house in the *Old Bailey*, and upon his arraignment pleaded

¹ Unless, indeed, the 'Joan Southwell,' which appears on an undated list of 'subscriptions against Mr. Blacklow's writings' be our John Southworth. Dodd (*Ch. Hist.*, Vol III, 356.) gives the same signatures and also the formula to which they were subscribed : in this, reference seems to be made to Blacklow's *Obedience of Government*, published in 1655, and so John Southworth could not have subscribed. We have come across Mr. Blacklow (Thomas White) in an earlier chapter. He spent the latter part of his life in England, and wrote numerous books, his theological and political views creating great controversy and division among the clergy at home and abroad.

² Printed in 1687, p. 27.

that he was not guilty of treason, but acknowledging himself a priest of the *Roman Church*, it clearly appeared that those who were his judges did their utmost to preserve his life, and to prevent the execution against him of those laws upon which he stood indicted; for they did for many hours suspend the recording of his confession, making it their endeavour to prevail with him to plead *not guilty* to the indictment. They pressed him to this in the public court, assuring him that if he would so plead his life should be safe, and that they had no evidence which could prove him to be a priest. And when the old man¹ would not be drawn to deny himself to be a priest, taking it to be a denying of his religion, and that the court was compelled to give judgement against him, the magistrate who gave the sentence² was so drowned in tears upon that sad occasion, that it was long before he could pronounce the sentence which the law compelled [him] as he professed, to give.

Such humanity on the part of the judges was as admirable as it was exceptional, and John, indeed, in the first instance would have been quite within his rights to have pleaded 'not guilty' to the question of the fact of his priesthood. The burden of proof lay with the court. That was the legal situation which many of the martyrs had accepted and acted upon.³ But John, on

¹ Challoner adds: 'aged about seventy-two.' Actually his age was sixty-two.

² William Steele, appointed Recorder of London in 1649.

³ Describing his first trial (1637), Fr. Henry Morse, S.J., states that the Chief Justice asked him "'Are you a priest?' I replied that I was unworthy of that office." Again in his last trial (1645): 'What, then,' said the Bench, 'are you not a priest?' He answered: 'I state nothing about myself; I leave all this to the Court.' Foley, Series I, pp. 584, 594.

his arrest, had bluntly admitted his priesthood, and would not and could not in any way withdraw from that admission. Like Eleazar, he was unmoved by the 'wicked pity' of his judges, and 'considering in what manner he was come to it, patiently bearing he determined not to do any unlawful thing for the love of life.'

Challoner, citing a St. Omer's *MS.*, tells us that it was on the information of a pursuivant named Jefferies, whom he had in fee, that he was taken out of bed by night by Colonel Worsley,¹ apprehended and cast into gaol. This evidence is corroborated by a letter of Lorenzo Paulucci, Venetian Secretary in England, to Giovanni Sagredo, the ambassador in France.²

They recently arrested an English priest in bed. Finding in his chamber all the requisites for the celebration of the Mass, to which he intrepidly owned, they compelled him to get up and carried him off prisoner.

The Gaol Delivery Rolls give us the date of his arrest—Monday, June 19. The following entry, of which I have seen the original, is printed in the Middlesex County Records.³ It is the Jurors' Oath :

The Jurors of the Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, &c., upon

¹ Charles Worsley (1612-1656), one of Cromwell's Major-Generals.

² Record Office. *Venetian State Papers* (unbound, 1654. No. 287).

³ Vol. III, p. 225. Cfr. West. Guildhall, *Session Rolls*, No. 1125.

their oath doe present that John Southworth late of the parish of Giles-in-the-Fields in the county of Middlesex clerke was borne within England, and after the feast of the Nativity of St. John Baptist in the first yeare of the reigne of the Lady Elizabeth late Queene of England &c., And before the nineteenth day of June in the yeare of Oure Lord one thousand six hundred fifty fower in the parts beyond the seas was made and ordayned a Preist by authority derived and pretended from the Sea of Rome And that the aforesayd John Southworth the lawes and statutes of England little weighing, nor the paine in them conteyned anie waies fearinge the aforesaid nineteenth day of June in the said yeare of our Lord one thousand six hundred fifty fower from the parts beyond the seas aforesaid unto the Common Wealth of England to witt at the said parish of Giles-in-the-fields in the county aforesaid on the said nineteenth day of June in the yeare aforesaid traiterously and as a false traitor to this Commonwealth of England did stay was and did remayne Against the forme of the statute in such case made and provided and against the publike peace.

On the top of the original of this document, in a different handwriting is inscribed the formula, 'He putteth himself &c. guiltie &c. no goods &c.' and similarly at the bottom, 'The said John Southworth adjudged to be drawne hanged and quartered, to witt &c.' These legal formulae will be considered presently. On the back of this Gaol Roll are written the following names: Stephen Shalcross, Robert Brooks, John Woodworth, Jeoffrey Ellison. It is to be presumed that these were the prosecuting witnesses.

He was committed to Newgate Gaol for trial

on Wednesday, June 21, according to the following entries in the Register :

I¹

S' JOHN SOUTHWORTH
pro Seminar. Sacerdot.

In another hand are added the words :

po/se/cul/ca/null/S' to be drawne, hanged and
quartered

II²

JOHN SOUTHWORTH
for a Secular popish priest
(before Justice Worsley).

As regards the formulae attaching to the Jurors' Oath and the first of the above entries, they are interpreted as follows: po(nit) se, he puts himself (on a jury); cu(lpabilis)—found guilty; ca(tella) null(a)—no property; S' (uspendatur)—let him be hanged. These formulae were added by a prison clerk against the original entry at the end of the trial: the letter S', known as the 'sinister S,' was usually set beside the name of a person on the Gaol Register once the sentence of death had been passed.

We will turn now to a contemporary paper in the *Westminster Archives*³ for an account of what passed between John and his judges: it is a

¹ Gaol Delivery Register. *Entries of Session*, 21st June, 1654.

² West. Guildhall. *Delivery of the Gaol of Newgate*, 90/2.

³ Vol. XXX, p. 635.

little more circumstantial than the one cited by Challoner :

Mr. Southworth on Saturday being the 24 of June 1654, was called to the bar before the Recorder of London. There he confessed himselfe a priest, and a condemned man many yeares since. On Monday the 26 he was agayne called to the bar and had the sentence of death pronounced against him. Upon which he desired some fewe words with the Court, who gave him leave and willed him to come neare to them, which he did ; and falling on his knees said : ‘ O Lord God I humbly thank thee, who hath made me worthy to suffer for Thy sake.’ Then standing upp he said : ‘ I thank you for that you have done, and for your civilities to me, and I pray God to give you His holy grace, that you and all this nation may be converted to the true Roman, Catholick and Apostolick Faith, and remaine in heaven for ever with Jesus Christ in glory.’

The Recorder said : ‘ Sir, wee thanke you, and will joyne with you in the latter part.’

He was found ‘ guilty ’ probably on the Saturday, sentenced to death on the Monday, suffering two days later. The form of sentence was : ‘ You shall be taken back to the prison from whence you were brought, thence you shall be drawne to the place of execution, and there hanged by the neck until thou art half-dead : your head shall then be cut off, and the rest of your members divided into four parts shall be fixed up at the four usual points of the city, and may God have mercy upon you ! ’

Of those last two days, when John was awaiting

martyrdom, we have no exact account. We know that the foreign ambassadors, according to their custom with a condemned priest, did all in their power to secure him a reprieve. Thus, Monsieur de Bordeaux, the French Ambassador, writing to the Governor of Calais,¹ tells of the execution 'notwithstanding my interposing, and that likewise of other ambassadors to get him reprieved,' and Paulucci² states 'although when Cromwell was informed of this incident he seemed moved and averse from such cruelty, expressing himself, *possibly from deceit and shrewdness*, as opposed to violence in all matters of religion and in favour of liberty of conscience for all, yet he was obliged to approve of the deed and sanction this sacrifice to the law of the land.' 'It was not,' as Lingard observes, 'that Cromwell approved of sanguinary punishments in matters of religion, but that he had no objection to purchase the good-will of the godly by shedding the blood of a priest.'

We can imagine that the Catholics flocked in great numbers³ to John's cell, and the most of them would have been his own loved poor of Westminster: nobles, too, with their retainers, ambassadors and their suites, and his fellow-

¹ Count de Chaorst ('Thurloe, *State Papers*, II, 406). See also Lingard, VIII, 425: 'the Protector, notwithstanding the urgent solicitations of the French and Spanish ambassadors, resolved that he should suffer.'

² loc. cit.

³ In those days it was easy to gain access to condemned prisoners by means of money.

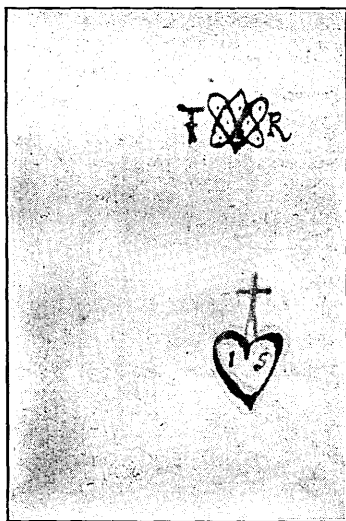
priests in disguise, would have come to him, not out of an idle curiosity, but rather to share his triumph, and to take away with his last blessing something of that supernatural joy with which Christ flooded the hearts of His holy martyrs.

Of his intimate acquaintances we know nothing, and the name of his servant—John Lillie—is only accidentally preserved to us in a book¹ which was probably a parting gift from his master. They would have been near him all the time during those closing hours and assisted at that last Mass which he celebrated in his narrow cell on a roughly improvised altar.

It was the Vigil of Saints Peter and Paul, and the dawn broke dull, with clouds threatening storm. Thirty-six years had passed since he had offered his first Mass to his Risen Lord in the little chapel at Douay, and all those years he had worked strenuously and without stint in the cause of God, a humble and hidden servant, whose spirit remained unbroken to the end, in spite of many imprisonments and frequent dangers, in spite of obloquy, in spite of the seeming hopelessness of the cause of God's Church in England. And now all the memories and

¹ Now at Heythrop. For this information and the photograph opposite, I am indebted to Fr. Chas. Newdigate, S.J., Vice-Postulator of the Cause of the Beatification of the English Martyrs. The book is Gregory Martin's *Discoverie of the Manifold Corruptions of the Holy Scriptures by the Heretikes of our Daies*, printed at Rheims by John Fogny, in 1582.

~~Ex dono Joh^{is} Southworth~~
~~who deth a martyr for the~~
~~Catholick Faith June. 28th~~
~~1654 -~~
~~to his servant. Jo. Little~~



INSCRIPTION IN THE BOOK AT HEYTHROP
 The heart, carrying the initials J. S., is probably by Blessed
 John Southworth.

desires and emotions of a lifetime were gathered up, or rather transformed, into one perfect ecstasy of love and surrender, as for the last time he consummated the Sacrifice of the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ, the master, in whose 'just quarrel' he would presently die, like so many faithful sons of Douay before him.

It was full morning when the sheriff's man entered the chamber and gave the signal to follow him. John was dressed in his priest's cassock and wore a four-cornered cap : a silver cross hung on his breast from a riband. The street outside was crowded with sightseers, and a cry, more of pity than of contempt, arose as they saw the priest ignominiously secured to the rough sledge that was to drag him the weary way from Newgate to Tyburn. John was in his sixty-second year, but his life of toil had aged him and he had the appearance of one ten years older. On either side of him on the hurdle were strapped two thieves—coiners, who were to die with him for their treason. The road was rough and irregular, and the crude hurdle jolted painfully as the procession went westward : rain, too, began to fall, followed by severe thunder and lightning which continued most of the day, and soon the prostrate body of the priest was covered with mud. 'He was attended to the place of execution by two hundred coaches and a great many people on horseback, who all admired his constancy.'¹ Besides these there would be the multitude of spectators who followed on foot and the thousands who gazed

¹ Mons. de Bordeaux, loc. cit.

from windows and roof-tops. *Spectaculum facti sumus mundo.*

Arrived at the open space of Tyburn, his eyes sought the Triple Tree and all the instruments of death that lay about, the fire and cauldron, the ladder and ropes, the knives and axes. He was familiar with the sight, and not appalled. The whole of his life, from Douay to Newgate, had been a preparation for such an end, and now that that end was very near he faced it with a cheerfulness, determination and courage that won the respect and the tears of the onlookers.

Some common malefactors were drawn to Tyburn on the same day, eight men and one woman.¹ They were probably the first to suffer the sentence of the law.

When John's turn came to die, he mounted the fatal cart with alacrity, and standing there before the hushed multitude, he was given leave to speak. He was weak with age, and weakened still more by the cruel journey from Newgate, weakened by the sickening sight of those who had been butchered before his eyes: but he stood

¹ So *The Perfect Diurnall*, July (for June) 28th, 1654, Num. 238, p. 3647. Brit. Museum. 'This day there was executed at Tyburne, nine men and one Woman Condemned by the session in the old Baily, whereof one a Jesuit, or as some say, a Secular Romish Priest, who was formerly Condemned, Pardoned, and Banished, but returning hither again was apprehended, and now hanged, drawn and quartered.' Paulucci (loc. cit.) says there were twelve criminals executed at Tyburn that day, and Challoner's account of an eyewitness states: 'there were five coiners hanged, drawn and quartered with Mr. Southworth.'

there erect, strong in soul and undaunted in heart: as he opened his mouth to speak, there were heard the rumblings of distant thunder, and lightning still played in the sky as the wrack of a storm passed over London.

I am come hither to die,¹ and would willingly speak something if I thought the weakness of my voice would give me leave to be heard.

I am a Lancashire man, and am brought hither not for any crime I have committed against the laws, but for being a priest, and obeying the commandments of our Saviour Jesus Christ, and professing the Roman Catholic faith, in which I willingly die, and have ever earnestly desired it.

My study from my infancy was to find out the true and only way to serve Him, and after I had found it, my study was to serve Him.

I have suffered much and many years' imprisonment to obtain that which I hope shortly to enjoy.

Almighty God sent His only begotten Son, my Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ into this world for the redemption of mankind, and although the least of His sufferings was a superabundant satisfaction, yet he rested not so content, but himselfe both by word and example, gave us a rule by which we should be guided. He told St. Peter: 'Thou art a Rock, and upon this Rock I will build my Church, and the gates of Hell shall not prevail against it,'—which is the true, Catholic and Apostolic Church.

He gave a commandment to His Apostles to preach and teach His doctrine to all nations, baptizing them in

¹ This report of the speech is taken from *Westminster Archives* (XXX, 635) and appears to have come from a different pen than that given by Challoner (also found in *West. Arch.*, XXX, 636). The differences in the two accounts are not very remarkable.

the name of the Father, Sonne and Holy Ghost. They gave the same to their disciples and successors. And by that successive descending authority was I sent to preach and teach in this my nation. This was my mission, and deeply resenting my Saviour's words, *qui vult venire &c.*, 'he that will come after Me let him deny himself, take up his cross and follow Me,' by which He meant ye present persecutions of this world, I took up this Cross, practised how to suffer still as near as I could learning the way of perfection, and now I am brought hither to put it in execution.

Never to my knowledge as a dying man either speaking, writing or persuading anything against the laws of this kingdom, but performing my duty and submitting myself to my superiors, as I would have you all do both to spiritual and temporal, I have been many years learning this lesson of suffering for my Saviour's sake, which I am now to perform. My Saviour showed me the way, for He died for my sake on the Cross, and for His sake I die (*here he looked up at the gallows*) on this which is my cross, and I willingly embrace it.

The Lord Protector lately fought long for the liberty of the subject, and having obtained the victory, the people of this nation were made believe there should be a general liberty of conscience, and that no man's life should be taken away for matters of religion, for which only I die. It hath pleased God to put the sword of justice into the Lord Protector's hands and to take it out of the King's, that he should rule this Commonwealth, and he ought to do justice to all in equal balances, and that Catholics being free-born subjects should enjoy that liberty as others do as long as they live obedient subjects to him and the laws of this nation.

I plead not for myself who am come to die, but for the poor distressed Catholics I leave behind me. God Almighty hath pleased the Lord Protector to do justice to

the people in mercy, not in blood, contrary both to his promise and duty ; for submission to whose power (and duty to my superiors of the Roman Catholic Church) I am brought hither and willingly obey him. All other opinions have liberty of conscience, but now we see the poor Catholics are denied that privilege. I am here to suffer for it. I see not why my life should be taken away, for the law should be grounded upon reason and God's word.

This latter which is man's law is repugnant to the law of God, for my Saviour Jesus Christ saith : *Go preach and teach all nations, baptising them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost.*

Neither should the innocent be punished for the offenders. The angels in heaven did rebel against God through pride, but how were they punished ? Not all the whole hierarchy of angels destroyed, but those only who did offend ; the other angels remained still in glory. So I say that if any Catholics should offend the law and not show themselves true obedient subjects, let those that offend be severely punished, and not for some particular new offence punish all. So let the Lord Protector do to the Catholics of this nation who are natives of this land and who, I am very confidently assured, are as true subjects to his highness and this present government as it stands established as any Protestant of this nation of what degree soever ; and that they should be the only people aimed at for destruction truly it is a very hard case and contrary to the law and government in any place in the whole world. I therefore desire the Lord Protector would grant them a liberty of conscience equal with their fellow subjects and that he may so govern as may be for the honour of God and the good of the people.

Here he was interrupted by some of the officers who desired him to make an end. So, after

asking all Catholics who were present to pray for him and with him, he never more spoke aloud. He raised his hands to heaven and gently closed his eyes. They set the rope about his neck, and presently the cart was drawn away . . . ' then in a fashion worse than barbarous, when he was only half-dead, the executioner cut out his heart and entrails and threw them into a fire kindled for that purpose, the body being quartered, one for each of the quarters of the city.'¹

But throughout all that horrible butchery there lingered on his face the smile of one well-content.

His soul was in Heaven, and from beneath the outstretched arms of his glorified Lord, he looked upon the silly throng of men and the mangled flesh that had been his earthly body, and he claimed a favour at the hands of the Master for whom he had suffered. Among the crowd that was now dispersing from Tyburn Field was a young Cavalier, then in his twenty-fourth year, a soldier, who four years before had fought for his King at Worcester. He had come to Tyburn that day and heard the speech of the martyr; and waited to the end. He drew nearer, and as he looked at the broken body of the heroic priest, grace touched his heart, and he determined at once to enlist in the ranks of the King of Kings and take the place of that stricken soldier of Christ. He entered the English

¹ Paulucci, loc. cit.

College at Rome in the following year and in due course became a priest and laboured on the Mission in England.¹

¹ William Carlos (alias Dorrington). See Foley's account (Series I, p. 180, and *General Statistics*, Part I, p. 115.) 'On witnessing the execution of the most blessed martyr, Mr. Southworth, I resolved to seek Rome, in order, as far as in me lies, to render some service, however unworthy, to Holy Church.' For some time he served on the mission at Kelvedon in Essex, dying in 1679, at the age of 48.

VI

THE BODY AT DOUAY

1654-1793

TO the conclusion of his notice of the martyrdom of John Southworth, Challoner appends the following note :

Mr. Southworth's body was sent over to the English College of Doway by one of the illustrious family of the Howards of Norfolk; and deposited in the church near St. Augustine's altar. In requital of which, as I find attested in the records of the house, God was pleased by the prayers and relics of this martyr in the year 1656, wonderfully to recall from the very gates of death the Honourable Francis Howard, fifth son to Henry, Earl of Arundel, and brother to Thomas and Henry, successively Dukes of Norfolk, when absolutely despaired of by all the physicians, and having all the symptoms of a dying man.

It is an unfortunate fact that research in the extant records of the Howard family has so far revealed no further information as to the exact part any of its members played in this pious work of collecting the remains of the martyr's body and sending them to Douay College.

It is perhaps even still more unfortunate that the College *Diary* fails the enquirer just at this

critical point of time. The *Fifth Douay Diary* finishes on March 25, 1654: the *Diaries*, covering the period 1654-1715, have been lost, though even they were incomplete, for Robert Witham (who was President from 1715 to 1738) informs us that no *Diary* was kept by George Leyburn (1652-70) and his nephew-successor, John Leyburn (1670-76): it was kept by Francis Gage, the next President (1676-82), and was continued until 1695, when it suffered a further break, until the Presidency of Robert Witham (1715), when the *Seventh Diary*¹ opens. A further tantalising element is introduced by Dr. Witham himself, who in an entry under date May 8, 1725,² states that he had found in the Procurator's room many letters and other documents and had thought it good to make note of them. He begins: "In the year 1654, or at least in the year 1655——" and then breaks off abruptly! Fortunately, however, although the record of the arrival of the body of the martyr is lost to us, and we might have hoped that the record would have been fairly circumstantial, we do possess an account of the miracle, to which Challoner refers, and with which we will deal presently.

The condition of the holy martyr's body when it was unearthed and examined in 1927 showed that no pains or expense had been spared on its embalmment and coffining. Of these matters we shall speak later.

¹ This has been recently published by the *Cath. Rec. Soc.*

² *Cath. Rec. Soc.*, Vol. XI., p. 539.

The Howards, to whom Challoner attributes the recovery of the body, were then living at Arundel House in the Strand,¹ a family of some twelve children, who had lost their father, Henry Frederick Howard, Earl of Arundel, two years previously (1652): the mother, Elizabeth, daughter of Esme Stuart, Duke of Lennox, was still living. Of these children, three of the younger sons, Edward, Francis and Bernard, had been sent to Douay College in the year preceding (1653) John Southworth's martyrdom. There is an entry in the College *Diary*,² recording their arrival:—

On September 18, there came to the College, Edward Howard (here known as Talbot), Class of Grammar. He was in his sixteenth year, the fourth son of the illustrious Henry Howard, deceased, Earl of Arundel, and Lady Elizabeth Stewart, Catholics, residing in the county of Sussex. From his infancy he was brought up in the Catholic faith. With the aforesaid Edward, came his brothers Francis and Bernard Howard, the fifth and sixth sons respectively, the former fourteen years of age, the latter eleven. Bernard was placed in the Rudiments, Francis in Grammar. From their earliest years they were imbued with the principles of the Catholic Faith.

All three boys were at Douay when John Southworth's body arrived there, and Francis was the subject of the miracle in 1656.

¹ Arundel Castle was reduced to ruins in the course of the Civil War.

² *Cath. Rec. Soc.*, Vol. XI., p. 527. Contrary to Dr. Witham's remark, George Leyburn appears to have kept the *Diary* during the first two years of his Presidency.

Who, then, of the family were in London when John was martyred? The mother certainly, and probably her eldest son, Thomas,¹ Earl of Arundel: Philip, the third son, who was later to be the famous Cardinal, was at that time in Paris. Henry and Charles had left England in August, 1653, in company with the three younger brothers who were going to Douay,² but it is doubtful whether they were back in London by June, 1654. In the Douay account of the miracle it is related how the President 'bethought himself that it was this youth's brother sent us our Blessed Martyr's body,' and it is natural to think that Thomas as the head of the family was the chief agent in the matter. What influence the Howards commanded to achieve their end we cannot say, nor need we wonder that owing to the difficulties of the time the whole matter should have been kept very secret and little or nothing committed to writing by them.

One detail has happily survived—the name of the surgeon to whom the preparation of the body was entrusted—James Clark. This is given on a small paper in the Reliquaries of Westminster Cathedral, where it was found associated with a

¹ He was restored to the dukedom of Norfolk in 1660. He died in 1672, and was succeeded by Henry (d. 1684).

² See Warrant of the Council of State (*State Papers Dom.*, 1653-1654, p. 434), in which a pass is granted to the five of them with their servants 'to travel in foreign parts.' The *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, XXVIII, p. 32 *sub* Howard, implies that Thomas was of the party. This apparently was not the case.

large piece of bone to which it does not actually refer. The reading on the paper is as follows:—

This bone taken out of ye neck of Mr. South (worth) ¹ who suffered under Olyver Cromwell as a Cath. Priest or Clergyman, was given me by Mr. James Clark, Chirurgeon, who embalmd ye body.

Attempts to discover either the recipient of this relic or the relic itself have so far been in vain, nor have I been able to identify the surgeon, Mr. Clark.²

On the Douay side, the first mention of the presence of the body at the College appears in the account ³ of the 1656 miracle, which we will now proceed to give:

¹ The latter part of the name of the martyr is not easily legible. Fr. Newdigate, S.J., thinks it may be *-ward* or *-ernward*; it appears to me as either *-ward* or *-worth*. The matter is not really important, as I find there are several variations in the spelling of the name, e.g. *Southeson* (Foley, *Records*, I, 579); *Souther* (*id.* 605); *Southwell* (*id.* 604), and *Southward* (*West Arch.* XXXI, 335).

² A James Clarke, M.D., appears in Munk's *Roll of the Royal College of Physicians* (London, 1878, Vol. I, p. 357); "A doctor of Medicine of Cambridge of Sept. 26, 1657, was admitted a candidate of the College of Physicians Dec. 22, 1656, and fellow June 25, 1688." Dr. Clarke was dead on Sept. 30, 1671, when Dr. Tho. Allen was admitted a fellow in his place.

Venn also (in his *Book of Matriculations and Degrees*, 1544-1659, at Cambridge University) mentions a James Clerke of St. Catharine's College, A.B. 1644-5, A.M. 1648, M.L. 1653, M.D. 1656.

³ *West. Arch.*, XXXI, 335.

A RELATION OF THE STRANGE, UNEXPECTED
& (IN MY OPINION) MIRACULOUS RECOVERY
OF FR. TOLBUT

About the beginning of Last Vacance He fell sick of a quartan ague, in his first days jurny towards Bruxelles, & other partes (which he desired to see) it continued with him all his jurny & returne till within thes three weekes: when (seing him brought very weake) Mr. President thought to send him home, for his owne native airs, & behold upon a suddain he is taken with a most violent & malignant feavour which, after two days brought him to a ffrenesy, the doctor feard him very much from the beginning & fund him every day wors than other. So that after five days two more were caled, after some visits, with smale hoapes, they all one night deserted him; saying jointly, he would infalibly dye before morning (& they were held for the learnedst & greatest practitioners of the university) & indeed the signes were as mortall as could be in a dying man. He had not slept in fouer or 5 days; & raved as long: & now he had lost his knowledge of all, & speach; his pulce was convulcive; his tunge very black, drye, rough & shrunk; his countenance & eys (in the estimation of all that beheld him) of a man agonizing, etc.; so that the Doctour tould the President, *Non est ne minima spes.* all wer very sad with this sentence, but espetialy Mr. President as being the common & tender father of all & of this in particular being of a greate famuly, of an exelent disposition, a prety scolour, generally beloved, very regular, discreet, vertuous etc, briefly such an one as we had placed in him noe smale parte of the hopes of this house. The President therefore much trubled & disconsolate be-thought himself it was this youths brother sent us our B. Martyrs body, and presantly directing his devotion to the Martyr [fell upon his knees & prayed hartyly as you may

be sure, quia hunc diligebat]¹ promising with all, if he but lived till morning he would cary a little croune [of flouers] which we keepe over the Martyrs head to him. The youth began to mend beyond all hoapes & expectation that night. Next morning the croune was brought & a cushion which usually lyes under the Martyrs head was layd under his. He grew better every day since & is now gott up thes too days to our greate admiration & comfort, & to the greater glory of god in his Saints & in this his B. Martyr. The Doctors, that night they left him, thinking no more to see him, had given ordour none should come nere him but who needs must, & thos to keepe constantly a good fyer & when he was dead (which they may'd no question would be in very few houers) to open all windoes & dores, wash & aire all the cloathes about him, so pernicious they deem'd the disease. The Doctour cald next morning (for they had never stird of them selves), wondered little lesse, than if a man had bin rais'd from ded, & seing the alteration, one of them did assure the President that neither nature in him nor art in them had wrought this change, to which his sentence I cannot see anything which can be reasonably objected. So though I never found myself levis esse cordis nor an easy proclamaour of miracles upon slighte grounds: but rather contrary, yet trully, for a miraculous recovery of a man only not quite ded, I know not what the niseest beleiver can requier more in prudence. So I believe it, though a Thomas too.

PROGERS.

I might confirme this with diverse other benefitts, which people of this Towne at severall times acknowledged to have received in this kind & have presented at the shrine their testimonys in waxen Images, as the fashion

¹ The words in square brackets are lined-through in the original.

is: whereof some have bin examined: this being so apparent confirmed with the testimonys of so many eye-witnesses, & the deposition of three Doctors, I cannot omitt; non enim possumus quae vidimus et audivimus non loqui, & I am confident if the wisdom & discretion of the President had not mitigated the veneration & publick concourse of people; before it might be done by publick & highest authority; I am confident wee might have much more to speake off to the Glory (*corrected to glorifie God in*) our B. Martyrs, who [I hope beginne to raise themselves up against the perverse generation] by thes beginnings of restoring corporiall health, give us a presage of a generall cure of their countrys blindness, which they have soe long & profusedly bathed with theyr blood.

St. Charles Boromeus too the greate patrone (*sic*) & Patrone of Clergy-men, will joyne his prayers, by virtue of whose reliques (which he desired & wer sent him from our church) a greate Doctore & President of a Colledge much about this same time was recovered: & is to come to sing Masse heere within thes few days, in thanksgiving.

The following is added in a different hand :

This happened in Doway College in the year 1656. Dr. George Leyburn was then President of this our College in Doway. The young man thus strangely cured was Mr. Francis Howard, Brother to the Duke of Norfolk, and went here by the name of Talbot. The Martyr is Mr. Jhon Southward whose body lyes by St. Augustin's altar, and was then in a little roome which now, in this present year 1701, is the Church-porch. The author of this relation is Mr. Thomas Proger who was at that time Professor of Divinity. I underwritten was then about fifteen yeares of age, and have only a confused memorie of what happend in those days but remember somewhat of it.

ED PASTON, President.

Thomas Progers was Professor of Divinity at Douay College from 1655-57,¹ so his account is contemporaneous with the occurrence of the miracle. Edward Paston, who wrote the explanatory note, was President from 1688 to 1714.

The reader may like to have what other little information I have been able to gather respecting the *miraculé*, Francis Howard.

In the Arundel Archives is extant a letter² written by him from Douay to his brother Charles in London: it bears no date, but was probably written a few months after his miraculous recovery. In it he speaks of his 'purpose now to try God's grace to settle myself in that way of life my brother Pi hath, being the only happy condition wherein I can enjoy perfect content and satisfaction.' 'Pi' is, of course, his brother Philip Howard, who, after many difficulties, and much opposition from his own family, especially from his grandfather Thomas,³ had become a Dominican in Rome in the year 1646. In 1654 he was at Paris, in the year following in Belgium, whence he came to England and collected funds for the establishment of an English convent on the Continent. On his return he purchased a property at Bornhem in East Flanders, and became first Prior of a new community there on December 15, 1657. It was here that Francis joined him from Douay in 1658 and eventually

¹ *Cath. Rec. Soc.*, XI, 539.

² Kindly supplied to me by the Archivist, R. C. Wilton, Esq.

³ Who had conformed to the Church of England, probably from political motives.

received from his hands the habit of the Dominican Order (1660). He was solemnly professed a year later, went back to Douay to study philosophy and, in due course, received the Diaconate : he then returned to Bornhem to prepare for the priesthood. But an over-scrupulous conscience and a succession of illnesses prevented his ordination, and after sojourns in Paris, Louvain, Brussels and other parts of the Continent, he died at Geele, 1683, at the age of forty-five.¹

The position of the 'little roome,' in which Dr. Paston tells us the body of the martyr lay in 1656, and which in 1701 was the church-porch, may be roughly ascertained from the illustration (opposite page 29), which shows the College as it stood before Dr. Witham's extensive rebuilding in the years 1722-25.

The reference to the 'croune' and to the pillow 'which usually lies under the martyr's head' would lead one to think that the body was exposed and not yet placed in a leaden coffin. It is possible that the tendency on the part of the townspeople to create a *cultus* moved the President to have the relic put in its leaden casket and that in this way in 'his wisdom and discretion' he 'mitigated the veneration and public concourse of people before it might be done by public and highest authority.' The presence of tape round the coffin, vouched for by a later authority, indicates some sort of an official seal. A piece of this

¹ See Palmer's *Life of Cardinal Howard*, 1888,

tape is at Downside Abbey,¹ and an attached paper bears the following description :

The enclosed is part of some tape which I, Richard Southworth, found tied round the leaden coffin in which is enclosed the body of the Rev. John Southworth, who suffered death for his priestly character under Oliver Cromwell, 28 June, in the year of Our Lord 1654. This I brought with me to England in the year 1786 when I first came over on the mission. I took it from the coffin above-mentioned, which at that time lay under St. Augustine's Altar at Doway College, but was afterwards, during the trouble in France, removed and buried deep in a private place within the precincts or premises of the said College. It still remains there.

Brockhampton, 22 June, 1816.

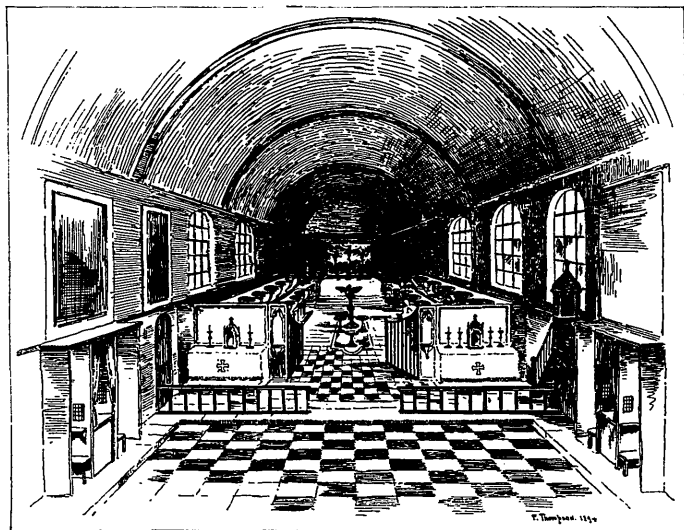
RICH'D. SOUTHWORTH.²

As to the position of the body in the Chapel itself after it was removed from the 'little roome,' Dr. Paston tells us that in 1701 it was 'by St. Augustine's altar' : Challoner, whose *Memoirs* were published in 1741-42, says it was 'near St. Augustine's altar,' while Richard Southworth in

¹ It is twenty-four inches long. There is a smaller piece at the Convent at East Bergholt.

² The paper is endorsed outside—"Taken from under St. Augustine's Altar at Doway College in 1786."

Richard Southworth was the eldest of five brothers who all went to Douay with the intention of studying for the Priesthood. Four of them became priests: the fifth died while pursuing his studies at the College. Richard was Professor of Divinity for fifteen years and later Vice-President. He left for the mission in 1786, and was at Brockhampton until his death in 1817. Bishop Talbot in his will expressed the wish that he might be his successor as Vicar-Apostolic of the London District. See Kirk's *Biographies*.



DOUAY COLLEGE CHAPEL IN THE
EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

the above declaration states that in 1786 it lay 'under St. Augustine's altar.' This altar was one (probably on the Gospel side) of two side-altars that stood half-way down the chapel (see illustration) parallel to the High Altar. The apparent conflict of evidence respecting the relative position of the martyr's body to this altar need not disturb us: its position would be changed with successive re-arrangements of the Chapel. It would appear, however, that it was never actually placed below the ground, but that it was eventually set in an open space below the stone of the altar. Perhaps a new tape was placed round the leaden shell in the time of Richard Southworth and he was able to get possession of a piece of the old.

The College authorities show themselves at all times most careful to observe the rulings of Rome respecting the possible growth of *cultus* to the relics of the English martyrs, and this fact itself may explain the absence of any public reference¹ to the body of John Southworth in the official correspondence of the College during the period that the body rested there. In a letter² written by William Thornborough (President 1739-50) in the year 1741, it is stated that the Apostolic See had declared that the relics of the Douay martyrs could be placed in altars, a privilege which, the President says, has never so far

¹ Dr. Witham, who rebuilt the Chapel about the year 1723, makes no mention of the martyr's body in his numerous letters to Bishop Giffard (*Epistolæ Variorum, West. Arch.*), in which he frequently refers to the progress of the work.

² *West. Arch.*, XLVIII, 56².

been exercised: he points out that the decree of Urban VIII respecting the martyrs has been kept to the letter, both in respect to *cultus*, miracles and the very name of 'martyr.'¹

This punctilious reverence shown to the Papal decree has denied us information which might otherwise have been recorded and preserved, and we hear no more of our martyr's relics until the stirring days of the French Revolution.

In January, 1793, France went to war with England, and straightway our religious houses in France came under the unfriendly notice of the Revolutionaries. In February, Douay College was visited by a body of the National Guard, which set seals on various rooms and objects of value. No inventory, however, was made until the following year.

The tale of the seizure of the College and the eventual imprisonment of some of the masters and students in the garrison at Doullens was written afterwards by the Rev. J. Hodgson, the Vice-President, and William Poynter, the Prefect of Studies.²

¹ *Declaravit [i.e. Apostolica Sedes] etiam eorum reliquias posse in altaribus collocari, quod tamen nondum factum reperio. Sed S.S.D.N. Urbani VIII decretum de Martyribus ad amussim observamus tum circa cultum tum circa miracula, ipsumque Martyris nomen.*

² Their account, which is very detailed, was published in the *Catholic Magazine* (1831-32); the original is in the *Westminster Archives*. Bishop Ward quotes extensively from it in his *History of St. Edmund's College*. See also Dancoisne's *Le Collège Anglais de Douai pendant la Révolution Française*, Douai, 1881.

Several of the priests and students continued in the College until August, and in spite of the vigilance of the Revolutionary Guard, found time and courage to conceal in places of safety the more important of the treasures belonging to the College. The following is from the *Haydock Papers* :¹

Its porter disappeared and in his place three others were assigned, so that there was no reason to complain of any deficiency in numbers. Their business was to note and examine everything entering or going out of the College. Their assiduity in their new calling was so exemplary as to gain from the students the name of the 'three spiders,' a just compliment due to them for the zeal and agility they displayed at their unaccustomed post.² Besides the main door, near which the 'spiders' were posted, there were two other outlets from the College grounds: both were now closed. By this arrangement it was vainly imagined that whatever the College possessed, or they coveted, was completely in their power. In this they reckoned without their host. Much valuable property, principally in plate, was conveyed beyond their reach by four of the philosophers, young men selected for that office from an opinion of their prudence and daring. Their names were:—Richard Thompson, afterwards Vicar-General of the Lancashire District; Thomas Penswick, the writer's brother, subsequently Bishop of Europum and V.A. of the Northern District; John Clarkson, afterwards on the mission at Ingatestone Hall in Essex; and William Lucas, who eventually joined the army, and for some years resided at Birmingham.

¹ Gillow, p. 109.

² Another account describes them as "the most ill-looking fellows you ever saw, so that we are obliged to have one or two to sit up to guard them."

They certainly ran great risk at such a time and in such an undertaking; but their courage never failed them, and they executed their task in a manner to ensure the full approbation of the superiors who employed them.¹

The writer of the above account was John Penswick, who at the time of these events was quite a young boy. He peeped through a key-hole and witnessed one of the burials, being afterwards severely rated for his inquisitiveness!

The chief treasures, of course, which were hidden, were the relics of St. Thomas of Canterbury and St. Charles Borromeo, and the body of John Southworth, and these were disposed of very secretly indeed, only a few priests being cognizant of the *caches*. I do not think that any of the boys mentioned in the *Haydock* account had anything to do with these more important burials, or even knew about them. They were left to the less responsible but no less enjoyable adventure of hiding Church and School ornaments and the silver plate of which the College possessed a large quantity.²

Here is some evidence from another boy (Swinburne) who was at Douay at the time:

¹ One of them let himself down by a rope from a room on the second floor to the window of the Physical Science room, and having taken some of the best instruments, again let himself down from the first floor to the ground. Another climbed up one chimney, down another which communicated with it, and so gained access to the President's room, the door of which had been sealed by the Guard.

² Most of the boys brought their own plate to the College, and we are told that there was sufficient to provide 'for even the lowest.'

each school (i.e. class) buried its own plate and there were five other burials in addition to these school burials. The French suspected this, and brought a kind of fire-engine to throw water over the flagged floor of the Bounds,¹ and where the water sank, they bored and thus found the Plate in three of the five openings² But the relics that had silver cases were (such was their anxiety to conceal them) buried in the privy, I do not know in what part of the College.

More detailed and valuable evidence concerning the nature of the objects buried is to be found in a copy of some notes made by Bishop Douglass (Vicar-Apostolic of the London District, 1790-1812), which is described as a 'Copy of a note about D——y Coll. of plate in Bp. Douglass' writing.'³

1. Grand lamp buried in the ground in the Bake-houses about three feet from the oven mouth. Bake-house close to the necessary—(Query). Is this not in Esquerchin and found and seized by the Purchaser a Brewer? I think so. J. Hodgson.

2. Box of silver in the low figurestians' school nearly facing refectory—six feet from the fire place nine feet deep. This is parlour silver.

3. In Gregoire's barn, second farm house in great

¹ The boys' playing-ground; the term is still in use at St. Edmund's.

² During the occupation of Belgium, the Germans resorted to similar measures to discover valuables hidden by the inhabitants.

³ Owing to the courtesy of Prior Marron I have seen this and one or two other relevant documents at Douai Abbey, Woolhampton.

St. Esquerchin are grand vestments concealed under the corn, on the right hand going in from the Street.

4. Mr. Southworth's body in the Kilns exactly in the middle—six feet deep.

5. At Jean Baptiste Ery epicier vis-a-vis la petite Boucherie—Electricity,¹ etc.

6. Crown incense pot—small Thurible—given to Delattre Blacksmith (Bossu).

7. Refectory silver and Butter Boats—Mr. Catron Louvain—a book of funds and sack full of papers.

8. Some Refectory silver and all Church plate buried under a haystack on the right hand side of the house at Lacroix—buried by Louis Jacques Laurent.

9. They have spoons and forks at Doullens, seven in number.

10. Phillip—Shoemaker (College) had a pair of altar cruets and some spoons, etc.

As regards these items, it is the fourth that chiefly interests us here, but in passing we may observe that the objects mentioned under 2 were discovered in 1863 in circumstances which we shall describe in the next chapter.²

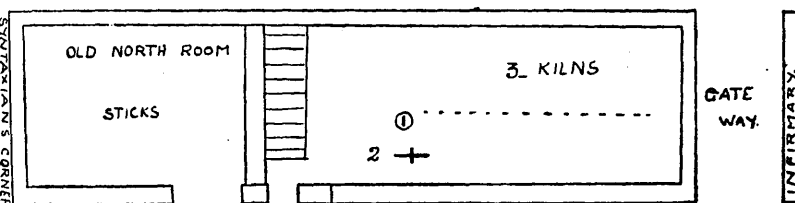
Of the position in the Kilns where the Martyr's body was buried, we have precise information given us in a document left by Fr. Thomas Stout,

¹ Referring probably to instruments saved from the Physical Science Room.

² A great amount of the Chapel furniture passed into the hands of the Revolutionaries. The Altar and Tabernacle are still in use, in the Church of St. Jacques at Douai. Among the objects lost was the 'hat of the celebrated High Chancellor of England, Sir Thomas More.' See the claims of the President (John Daniel) against the French Government, in *West. Arch.*

who was General Prefect at the College in 1793,¹ and who would seem to have been chiefly responsible for the hiding of the body and the two important relics of St. Thomas and St. Charles. It is strange that Bishop Douglass' paper should make no mention of these last.

Father Stout's document consists of a plan of the *locale* of the hiding-places, which in the sequel will be found to contribute vital evidence towards the identification of the martyr's remains. It is as follows :



No. ① KILN FURNACES.

No. 2 + THE RELICKS - 2 FEET FROM BASE OF THE FURNACE IN A BOX.

No. 3- MR SOUTHWORTH'S BODY DOTTED LINE PASSES OVER BODY.

This plan is inscribed, 'Rev. Thos. Stout's description where the hairshirt of St. Thos. Cantuar, the bonnet of St. Charles, ossa Sti Saturnini, et Sti Archangeli (ut credo)² were concealed in a box buried in the south room of the old malt-kiln at Douay.'

¹ He came to England in 1795 and served on the mission at Southwark, Callaly and Thropton, dying in 1828 at the age of 61.

² Is this *ut credo* a sneer, or the copyist's doubt as to the word in the original? Probably the latter.

My impression that Father Stout was the person mainly concerned with the safe hiding of these three relics is confirmed by a conversation which a Benedictine father held in 1863¹ with John Penswick, who was the inquisitive little brother of the Thomas Penswick mentioned above in our extract from the *Haydock Papers*. In 1863 he was an old man: this is the report of the conversation with him:

The students were not allowed to go into the malt-kilns, and it was only by stealth that he got in occasionally to catch rats. He says, 'Mr. Stout is the *best* authority, as he was mixed up with everything'; knows nothing of relics in malt-kilns; does not remember whether kilns were vaulted or not. They (the kilns) commenced near the gateway and he thinks they extended to the north wall in prison [?] . . . Mr. P. has some *faint recollection* of its having been reported amongst the students that some relics were buried under side-altar No. 2 [This is shown on a rough plan as the side-altar half-way down the Chapel, which we have identified (p. 137) as St. Augustine's altar, where the body of the martyr lay], and amongst them the head of one of the Missionary Priests whose beard continued to grow.

The last statement is most interesting: there can be little doubt that it contains a confused reference to Blessed John Southworth's body, and shows that the generation of students to which John Penswick belonged had little exact knowledge concerning the relic and no know-

¹ When an attempt was made to discover the hidden treasures; see next Chapter.

ledge at all of Father Stout's secret disposal of it in those exciting days of the Revolution.¹ The story of the beard growing after death probably goes right back to the days of Dr. Leyburn, when the body was exposed to view: on the face to-day the slight beard is easily discernible.

One further piece of evidence relating to the removal of the body in 1793 is to be found in the *Orthodox Journal* for 1817 (p. 446):

The body of the Rev. John Southworth was removed from its situation in the College Church, with as much respect as circumstances would admit on the 4th of May, 1793, and deposited in a place of greater security.

The mention of the precise date in this brief notice argues the existence or knowledge of more detailed information: this I have been unable so far to trace.

¹ Similarly, Richard Thompson, another of the *Haydock* heroes, when writing to Bp. Poynter in 1824 about the burials at Douay, makes mention only of the Plate. This is in a letter among some uncatalogued papers on the Douay Claims in *West. Arch.*

VII

THE DISCOVERY OF THE BODY OF BLESSED JOHN SOUTHWORTH IN 1927

FROM the evidence which we have considered in the last chapter, we may draw the following positive conclusions :

1. That the body of our martyr was removed from the College Chapel to a place of greater security on May 4, 1793.
2. That the body had been embalmed.
3. That it was in a leaden coffin.
4. That it was secretly buried about six feet deep in a specified part of the College premises.
5. That it was buried in the same piece of ground as the relics of St. Thomas of Canterbury and St. Charles Borromeo, and that it lay in a very definite position relative to the position of these buried relics.

It remains now to consider the search which was made for these relics in the year 1863, and the accidental discovery of the body of the martyr together with the relics of St. Thomas and St. Charles in July, 1927.

It may seem strange that seventy years were allowed to elapse before any serious effort was made to secure repossession of these precious objects. We must remember, however, that the

authorities at home were busy with the urgent problem of setting up and consolidating establishments in England to take the place of the Douay that had been lost; that they were immediately concerned to seek compensation for the College funds that had been confiscated at the Revolution¹; that the frequent disturbances in the French Government were unfavourable to such an undertaking, and that the Catholics of that generation, slowly emerging from the twilight of persecution, had little time or inclination to turn their distracted energies to the salvaging of relics which mean so much to the faithful of to-day.

That they did not lose sight of the buried treasures is evident from Dr. Douglass' *memorandum*, which we quoted in the previous chapter, and from Fr. Stout's careful plan: Richard Thompson, too, one of the boys concerned with the minor burials, wrote, on the subject, as we have seen, to Dr. Poynter in 1824. He says:

I forgot to mention to Your Lordship when at Ushaw, as I have often wished to do, the Plate which is buried in the College at Douay; and whether it has been taken up, or whether in the present circumstances we might have liberty to do so. I apprehend that I am almost the only one of the concealers of it now living. It lies a considerable depth, under the Grate in Low Figures close to the wall, and partly under the foundation of that wall.

In later life he is reported to have spoken frequently about the anxious night when he and

¹ For the story of the *Douay Claims*, see Bishop Ward's *Eve of Catholic Emancipation*, Vol. III, Ch. XLI.

his comrades effected their exploit, and to have discussed with his old Douay friends, the brothers Penswick, Lingard, Gillow and others, the possibility of getting leave from the French to disinter the chests they had hidden.

As he was nearing the end of his days he made the journey to Douay (1841) with two priest friends, fearful lest the secret of the hiding-places with which he had been concerned should perish with him: actually he died three months later. Unfortunately, when he reached the College, the changes in the buildings, due to successive adaptations, were so bewildering that the old man could not give very positive testimony as to the exact locality of any of the *caches*. The College, after the final dispersion of masters and boys, had been turned into a hospital: it was restored to the English in 1801 and then let to a company of cotton spinners: in 1834 it was finally sold to the French for the modest sum of £3200, and became a military barracks (*Caserne Durutte*), and in this function it continued to modern times.

Among the priests who visited the College with Fr. Thompson in 1841 were Fr. Placid Burchall, Prior of the Benedictines at Douay,¹ and Fr. John Swale, Procurator of the same house. It is pertinent to our enquiry to give an extract from a letter which Fr. Swale wrote twenty-two years later, when he was on the mission in England: ²

¹ The Community is now at Douai Abbey, Woolhampton.

² *Tablet*, June 13, 1863.

During the many long years I have been privy to the secret of the hidden plate nothing has seemed to me more extraordinary than the utter heedlessness of many parties who naturally should have been the most interested in the recovery of the hidden treasure. I remember several years ago spending an evening in the Presbytery at Durham in company with three individuals, now high dignitaries of the Diocese of Hexham, and taking down from the wall of the room in which we were sitting a picture of the Secular College of Douai, saying at the same time, 'Here I will show you where the plate lies concealed at Douai in your old College.' I remember saying these words to them, without being able to prevail on even one of the three to pay any attention to the subject. My only resource was quietly to return the picture to its place. Even the Very Rev. Thompson himself, when at Douai, seemed to care little about the treasure. I remember well, he had been about two days with us in our Benedictine College before he mentioned it, and when he did mention it, he did so as it were accidentally. He was not at Douai in search of silver plate, but in search of health. Had not the Very Rev. Dr. Burchall and myself urged him to pay a visit to the old College, and offered to accompany him, he might easily not have gone that far. Even as it was, though we got him to the College, he did not think it worth his while showing us the precise spot where the relics were buried. For my part I never heard him allude to them. Had he shown us where they were secreted there is little doubt but now they would have been coming forth.

It would seem, however, from other sources that Fr. Swale is not quite fair to Fr. Thompson, who was both interested in the recovery of the relics and *did* on this particular occasion convey information concerning their whereabouts which

at a later date Fr. Swale himself professed to have remembered. This was in 1868, when he was in the company of some visitors at the old College, and he is reported¹ to have said to them: 'I wrote to my sister (in 1863) giving a full account of all that Canon Thompson had said: unfortunately I afterwards told her to burn all my letters. She fulfilled the request literally; and thus was lost the clue to the Biretta of St. Charles and other relics.'

We leave it to the reader to attempt to reconcile this admission of Fr. Swale's with the unsparing criticism he passes on Fr. Thompson in the letter we have quoted.

It was in May, 1863, that at last a serious and organized effort was made to recover the Douay relics. Mgr. Francis Searle, Canon of Westminster and Secretary to Cardinal Wiseman, was at that time Administrator of the English Foundations, and having secured the necessary permission of the Emperor, Napoleon III, he wisely got a Commission appointed to undertake the researches.² This consisted of M. Antoine, Commandant of the Battery lodged at the College, M. Rey, Inspector of Property, and M. Asselin, Deputy-Mayor of Douay; while attached

¹ *A Pilgrimage to the old English College at Douay*, by Rev. C. J. Bowen. *The Edmundian*, Vol. III, July, 1899. See also *Douai Magazine*, Vol. V. p. 313.

² See Ward's *Life of Cardinal Wiseman*, Vol. II, p. 496: 'Searle got leave of the Emperor, and passed the permission through its labyrinth of departments, central and provincial, and with an official commission dug and found it (i.e. the plate).'

to the Commission were Mgr. Searle himself, the Very Rev. Placid Burchall, then Superior-General of the English Benedictines, Fr. Adrian Hankinson, Prior of the Benedictine College at Douay, and a Fr. Margison, Rector of Wrightington. M. Asselin afterwards wrote an account of the researches in a *brochure* entitled *Souvenirs Douaisiens*.¹

All available information, clues and indications had been carefully collected by those concerned, and the Benedictines in particular had been laudably active in that direction: it is to them that we owe the preservation to-day of copies of much of the evidence upon which the Commission worked, for example, Dr. Douglass' Note on the Burials and Father Stout's invaluable plan.

As we have already observed, the considerable changes in the buildings above ground made the clues very difficult to follow, and the first trench, which was dug in one of the old class-rooms (then a canteen) yielded no result. That was on May 18: on the following day, acting on further directions that had come from Fr. Swale, then in England, the party began to dig in an adjacent room, and their efforts this time were crowned with complete success. We will quote M. Asselin:

At half past twelve, - at a depth of about seven feet beneath the hearth-stone of the old fire-place, the pick disclosed a dark earthly substance which proved to be the remains of a box of wood that had mouldered entirely

¹ An English translation of this was published in the *Ushaw Magazine*, Vol. XX, pp. 244 *seq.*

away, and immediately beneath this in a disorderly heap, appeared a considerable mass of silver-cruets, goblets, plates, hot-water dishes, salt-cellars, a coffee-pot, the clasp of a cope, buckles, table silver, etc., of an intrinsic value, apart from their associations, of some £150.

M. Rey, in the name of the State, immediately proceeded to take a detailed inventory of the treasure, which will leave a lasting impression on those who had the happiness of following the fortunes of this interesting search. Among the objects discovered we may mention an embossed plate of silver bearing the name of Norfolk, the date 1701, and an inscription recording its presentation to the College: under the armorial bearings on several tulip-shaped goblets, whose size recalled the celebrated Flemish tankards, we remarked the following names and dates:—Philip Howard of Norfolk, 1744; John Daniel, last President of the College, 1747; Henry Wilkins, 1751; Thomas Gifford of Chillington, 1775; John Knapp, 1763.¹

The party next devoted its attention to Fr. Stout's plan (see p. 143) in the hope of finding the box containing the relics of St. Thomas and St. Charles. Strange to say, they completely missed the identity of the 'Mr. Southworth' mentioned by Fr. Stout. M. Asselin, and I suppose his colleagues, imagined it must be 'a priest named Southworth,² who died in 1786, since at this date he was succeeded in the post of Vice-President by William Huller!' A wild and rather silly guess, when one considers the dates. It is extra-

¹ These objects were later divided amongst St. Edmund's, Ushaw and Oscott.

² M. Asselin fixed on Richard Southworth, the Vice-President, who left Douay in 1786 (see p. 136).

ordinary that they were not more alert when they found Fr. Stout taking pains to indicate the position of ' Mr. Southworth's ' body, more especially as they knew that Bishop Douglass had made reference to the same burial. It serves to show how little was generally known about the saving of the martyr's relics in 1793, and consequently how closely Fr. Stout guarded his secret.

Failure attended all attempts to find the box of relics buried in the old kilns, though the searchers must have been once or twice within an ace of its discovery. Outhouses are the least permanent of buildings, and the substantial changes that had occurred in this particular area almost completely obscured the clues. I find that Fr. Swale wrote twice to Prior Hankinson suggesting that they should probe the ground with a sharp-pointed rod of iron, eight or nine feet long : I think they followed this advice and in taking soundings actually penetrated the leaden shell in which the body of the martyr lay. At the depth at which the relics were buried (and one supposes that the rod would have been hammered in) it would have been hard to detect an obstruction and the lead would have been easily penetrated, nor when the rod was withdrawn through the clay would there be much sign left on it of the material with which it had come in contact.

Before the final abandonment of operations, Prior Hankinson made a journey to England in the hope of picking up a little more information : among others, he visited John Penswick, now a

priest of over eighty years of age, the last of the survivors of the Douay of the Revolution : but he could get nothing but vague reports of a contradictory nature, and at last all hope of further success was given up.

Divine Providence was to reserve the discovery of the martyr's relics for that supreme day in the long history of Douay College—for that *summa dies* when its walls had fallen beneath the hammer of the house-breaker and the home of martyrs was levelled to the dust. John Southworth was restored to us before the utter end, in more auspicious days when Catholic England was looking expectantly to Rome to enrol in the ranks of the Blessed the great band of heroes who had issued from the walls of Cardinal Allen's College and who by the shedding of their blood had made possible the Catholic England of to-day.

It was towards the end of 1923 that the question of demolishing the College, chiefly in the interests of town improvement, was first mooted by the municipal authorities of Douay. Catholics at home and abroad immediately took notice and naturally thought at once of the precious relics that still lay there undiscovered. It is a pleasure to record that Fr. Bede Camm, O.S.B., who has ever shown a loving interest in the history of our English martyrs, was the first to notify the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster of the impending operations and the possibility

of the discovery of the body of Blessed John Southworth and the other relics. His Eminence at once took action through the President of St. Edmund's College, who got into touch with friends and responsible authorities at Douay.¹

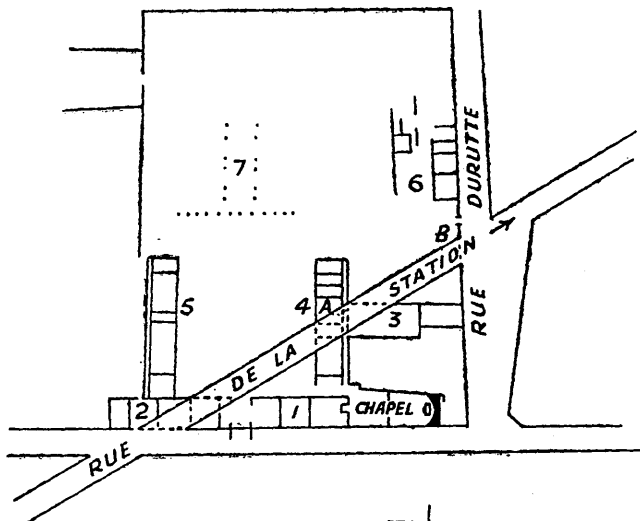
The buildings, however, remained undisturbed until April, 1926: by that time the French Government had sold the College (the reader will remember that it had been serving as a barracks) to the town of Douay, which forthwith resolved to proceed with its demolition. The immediate project was a rough levelling of the site and the creation of a new road running from the centre of the town to the railway station. This road I have indicated on the following rough plan which is an adaptation of one published in *The Edmundian*.² The *locales* of the 1863 discovery and of the discoveries of 1927, which we are now about to consider, are also indicated. (See p. 156.)

The interested parties in England were fortunate in the fact that there exists at Douay a learned Society known as the *Amis de Douai*, which has as its President M. F. de Bailliencourt: its interests centre round the antiquities of the town, and the history of the English foundations there naturally fall within its scope. From the very outset M. de

¹ Three years later the Benedictines of Woolhampton very readily communicated to the Cardinal all the information in their possession relative to documents used by the Commission of 1863. The practical interest they have at all times shown in anything relating to the old Secular College of Douay is beyond praise.

² Vol. III, p. 162, 1899.

Baillien court concerned himself most keenly in what was taking place and kept in constant touch with the competent authorities in England.¹ He also warned the proper French officials of



A. Site of discoveries made in May, 1863.

B. Site of discoveries made in July, 1927.

1. President's Rooms.

2. Vice-President's Rooms.

3. Refectory.

4. Class Rooms.

5. Lecture Rooms.

6. Outhouses of various kinds.

7. Avenue.

the likelihood of 'finds' and took all possible steps to safeguard such 'finds' in case claims should be eventually lodged.

In September, 1926, when the College build-

¹ He tried to secure funds from England for the preservation of the Chapel building, but *res angusta domi* rendered the scheme impossible.

ings were already rased to the ground, he secured the services of two competent metal-diviners, M. Depreux and the famous Abbé Bouly, of Hardelot, but their investigations led to no practical results. In the meantime M. de Baillien-court informed the Director of Public Property and the Mayor of Douay of the nature of the objects which his Society hoped to discover. He enumerated them as (1) the Foundation Stone of the Chapel,¹ (2) the box containing the relics of St. Thomas and St. Charles, (3) a box containing relics of martyrs, buried under the Chapel, (4) a third box containing Church plate. M. de Baillien-court drew up this list, following M. Asselin's *brochure* and vague indications from England: which accounts for his omission of all mention of the body of John Southworth.

Some months after the new road had been completed, the town authorities divided the

¹ i.e. of the Chapel rebuilt by Dr. Witham in 1723. The Stone was not found. The wording on it is to be found in the *Westminster Archives* (*Epistolæ Variorum*, VIII, 8). Dr. Witham mentions it in a letter, dated February 18, 1723. 'We found foundation-stone of our old Chapell with this inscription, an 1602 T. Worthington. We had with great ceremonies laid that of our new chapell with this inscription :

' D.O.M. sub tutela B.M.V.

patrocinio S. Thom. M. Bonav.

Giffard Epus. Madaur R. Witham Praeses

an 1723 a fundat. Colleg. an 155.'

According to the *Seventh Douay Diary* (C.R.S., Vol. 28, p. 194), the heart of Bishop Bonaventure Giffard lay buried beneath the Chapel. His body is interred at St. Edmund's College.

ground lying to the north-west of the road into lots which were sold to individuals on the understanding that new buildings were erected thereon within a period of five years. The lots on which the College buildings had stood were sold to M. Marcoux, who for several weeks was engaged on final levelling and at last in July, 1927, began excavations for the foundations of a shop at the corner where the new Station road met the old *Rue Durutte*. This was Lot 8, at the position marked B on the plan I have given. M. Marcoux told me later that this shop was the only one of the contemplated buildings that was to have a cellar, and so the only spot where his workmen would have to dig deep. This was providential.

On the morning of Friday, July 15, one of the workmen disclosed a leaden coffin about five feet below the level of the neighbouring road. It was moulded to the shape of the human body and lay with the head towards the south-east. As its surface was uncovered a hole was found in the top near the centre of the coffin, and a certain amount of oxidisation had taken place in that part. The hole was slightly irregular and about one and a half inches in diameter. There was a smaller hole at the head, caused by the pick of the workman. Otherwise the state of the leaden envelope was seen to be in an excellent condition.

The workmen on the spot, having extravagant notions of buried English treasure and thinking that the coffin might conceal something more valuable than human remains, were for breaking it open at once. Fortunately they were stayed



THE LEADEN SHELL CONTAINING THE MARTYR'S BODY
Opened shortly after its discovery on July 15th, 1927.

in time: the police and Mayor of Douay were summoned and also M. de Bailliencourt and other officials. A large crowd of people quickly gathered. After a brief consultation it was decided to transport the leaden shell to the *Morgue de Dauphin* in order to establish at once the nature of its contents. The workmen concerned in the discovery were invited to attend, since if there were any question of hidden treasure they would, according to the law, be entitled to a certain portion of it.

At the *Morgue* the leaden shell was carefully and thoroughly washed in the hope of finding an inscription or rough indication of some sort or other. Nothing at all revealed itself. Then with the aid of a burin the workmen proceeded to open the shell. This was of a peculiar pattern, being made in two halves, the upper fitting on to the lower, like a lid on a tin box. There was no soldering at the joints, but the two parts had been brought together very closely and tightly. The length of the shell was about 5ft. 8in. The top cover was carefully prised open on one side and lifted back gently, and within was seen the form of a human body, the head slightly inclined to the right shoulder, and the whole swathed in linen bands of a brownish colour. Our illustration shows the shell just after it had been opened. There was a quantity of dark liquid mud about the chest, due to the infiltration of water through the hole in the leaden cover, for it had been a day of drenching rain, the shell had long lain exposed in the clayey ground and the rain had drained into



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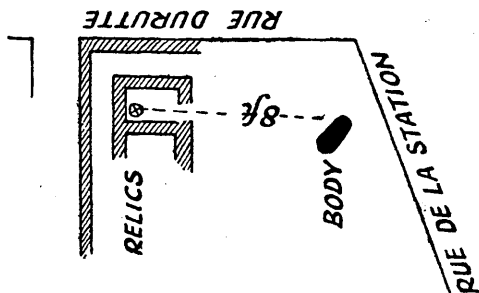
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the hole and been quickly absorbed by the dry spongy wrappings within. It was decided to postpone a further examination until the following Monday—an unfortunate decision in some ways, inasmuch as the wet and damp were given a longer opportunity to work havoc on the sensitive material. At any rate the workmen were satisfied that here was not English treasure in their sense.

Over the week-end the local journals were rich with sensational 'copy'; there was talk of Egyptian mummies and valiant crusaders and what not, and one paper blared boldly that Douay too had its Tutankhamen!¹ Men of the soberer sort were content with the conclusion that the body found must evidently be that of someone held in high veneration, considering the expense and care bestowed upon the confining of the remains. But no one in Douay dreamt that they had found the body of our martyr!

In the afternoon of the following day (Saturday, July 16), a workman digging in the same plot of land, came upon the remains of a wooden box, roughly enveloped with pieces of lead. This was at a distance of about 8 ft. from the spot where the body was found. The relative position of the two 'finds' are indicated on the following plan which I made shortly afterwards and some weeks before a copy of Fr. Stout's plan came into my possession :

¹ An American paper devoted a full page to the occasion, and rushing boldly to the conclusion that the body was that of St. Thomas of Canterbury, gave among other illustrations a picture of the martyrdom in Canterbury Cathedral.



Lead and wood had much deteriorated : in fact they were fragmentary, but sandwiched in between were the Relics of St. Thomas of Canterbury and St. Charles Borromeo. It must be ever regretted that the workman treated in a careless fashion the objects that he found : eager for treasure, he cast away bits of stuff which seemed to him to be but idle wrappings, and to his disappointment found only the lower half of a small oval silver box, bent, broken, and discoloured, and with nothing in it except its faded lining.

There were, too, three pieces of red material and a square of embroidery, damaged in parts. M. Marcoux was shortly on the scene and rescued the oval of silver and the pieces of red material—the Cardinalitial biretta of St. Charles ! He saw the ‘stuff’ the workman had cast away and thought, too, that it was just—well, stuff, and of no importance and interest. He described it to me some days later and said there was a piece of rough hairy material like a portion of carpet, about the size of his hand and as thick as his finger and of a brownish colour. It was thrown away,

and lies hidden, I suppose, in some hole on the Lille road, whither the excavated earth had been carted. In this way, I fear, the old Douay relic of the hair-shirt of St. Thomas was found and lost. We took all steps in our power to recover it, but without success. As fate would have it, M. de Bailliencourt was absent that day at Lille, and there was nobody on the spot sufficiently interested and informed to safeguard the whole of the find. M. de Bailliencourt, indeed, thought that he had a piece of the hair-shirt in the lining of the silver box,¹ but this is only a lining, being cut exactly to the shape of the box and the fabric in no way corresponding to that of authenticated pieces of the true relic.²

The three pieces of the biretta of St. Charles

¹ A closer examination of the silver box revealed the following inscription, scratched roughly on the underside with a sharp instrument :

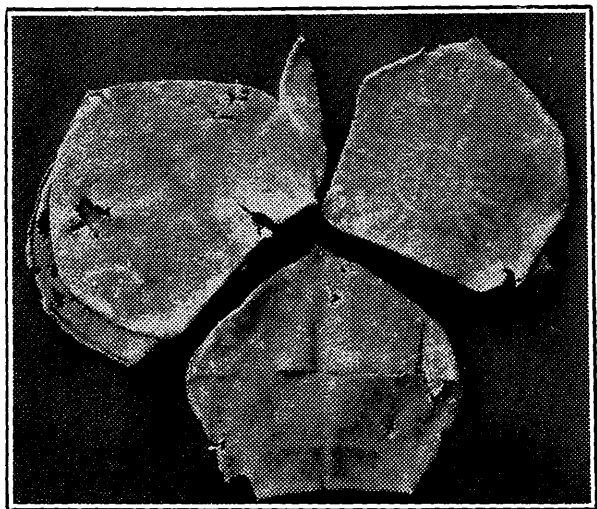
A de Raysse

ARND [=Arn(old) D(e Raysse)]

AR [=A(rnold de) R(aysse)]

This is interesting. Arnold de Raysse, or, in his Latinised form, Raissius, was a Canon of St. Peter's at Douay, and in his *Hierogazophylacium Belgicum seu Thesaurus sacrarum reliquiarum Belgii* (Douay, 1628), he mentions that he received from Dr. Kellison, a fragment of the hair-shirt of St. Thomas : *non parum me accepisse beneficium, cum segmenta haud mediocria praedictorum cilicii S. Thomae et biretti Sanctissimi Caroli, ab eximio Domino Matthaeo Kellisono, hujus Collegii moderatore, dono, piaque munificentia suscepi, cujus me memorem dum anima spirabo fore spondeo*. It would appear that Raissius' relics found their way back to the College, and were buried in 1793, together with the major portions of the hair-shirt and the biretta.

² There is a piece of the hair-shirt in a small oval reliquary at St. Edmund's College. It bears a label : 'Haire S. Thomas



RELIC OF THE CARDINALITIAL BIRETTA
OF ST. CHARLES BORROMEO

Borromeo were in a tolerably good condition, small sections only having rotted and fallen away : it was easy to see where slight pieces had been cut off in ancient days to serve as relics. For further information respecting the biretta, the reader is referred to p. 59 and to *Appendix II, B*. At the time of writing it rests at St. Edmund's College.

Beneath it in the broken box was a square piece of stuff, very beautifully embroidered, with a central monogram I H S set in the midst of a sun in its glory; at each corner and between the corners are very delicate filigree patterns, and in places the gold is still fresh and bright. It would seem to be either a pall or a burse, but whether it is itself a relic or has any relation to the relics found with it, it is not possible to say. Owing to pressure, an imprint of its central design has been left on one of the sections of the biretta, which rested immediately upon it. This can be detected in our illustration.

To return now to the question of the body; on Monday, July 18, Dr. Leclercq, Director of the Institute of Legal Medicine at Lille, proceeded to a careful examination of the mummified remains in the presence of a number of officials. The wrappings, which had been submitted to some preservative process, were of very strong linen, and were only removed with difficulty, disclosing the body of a man. The water that had pene-

Cant.' This College also has a piece of the biretta of St. Charles. These relics appear to have been obtained from Douay by Bishop Talbot during the years immediately preceding the Revolution.

trated through the hole in the shell had done much damage to the chest and stomach, which had both fallen apart : on the whole, however, the body had kept its general form quite well. The head in particular was found to be in a good state of preservation ; the skin of the face had taken on a coppery tint, and there was a slight moustache and beard *à la Richelieu* of chestnut colour ; the orbits of the eyes were empty and the ears had been severed. The crown of the head had been carefully sawn off and the brain entirely removed : in the cavity were wads of embalming material. The head was found to be sewn to the trunk by careful stitching at the neck. The thoracic and abdominal viscera had been removed and the voids filled with preservative material. Both hands had been taken off at the wrists. There were incisions down the inside of the forearms, made for the purposes of embalmment, and these were carefully sewn. There were similar incisions and stitches on other parts of the body.

Of the missing members, hands, ears and crown of the head, there was no trace in the coffin, nor did a painstaking search reveal any sign of a document or object of any kind which might have given a clue to the identity of the body or the date of its burial.

In view of the disintegrating effects of the damp, it was deemed wise to remove the head and left forearm, which were in excellent condition, lest they should suffer like the rest of the body. They were taken to Lille and treated in such a manner as to ensure their continued preservation.

On Thursday, July 28, thirteen days after the first discovery, on behalf of the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster, I went to Douay, in response to an urgent appeal from M. de Baillien-court. He and his companions were then under the impression that the body was that of the Richard Southworth mentioned by M. Asselin, though they were puzzled at the evident mutilations. I told them that probably the remains were those of John Southworth the martyr and gave them what little evidence I then had. I did not at that time know of Fr. Stout's plan.

I visited the site of the College—a dismal waste of broken brick and stone, with tufts of herbage here and there and mounds of soil, and a clean, firm road running through the midst. One could still trace the foundations of the old buildings, especially at the south-east corner, where were the Chapel and President's rooms: this area was to be only levelled and left as an open space. There was a hoarding round the place where the relics and body had been found, and the exact locality of each find was pointed out to me.

On the following day, after a short visit to the Mairie, I went to the town Museum and made a careful examination of the leaden shell¹ and found it such as I have previously described. The body wrappings were within, wet and faintly odorous of corruption. I looked in vain for any mark or sign on the lead that might give an indication or a clue. The hole in the middle gave me the impression of being long-standing; the process of

¹ This is now at St. Edmund's College, Ware.

corrosion had been slow, and the lead thinned gradually towards the aperture. I think we are safe in saying that the hole was made by the iron rod of the searchers in 1863, when they were probing the ground in the hope of finding the box of Relics. (See p. 153).

From the Museum I went to the Library, where M. Noel, the Director, courteously placed in my hands books and MSS. which might possibly bear on our enquiries. In 1793 the Library of the English College was seized by the Revolutionaries ; part of its valuable contents were handed over to the Town Library, and part ruthlessly destroyed, the material being used for the manufacture of cartridges. However, what remains at Douay is of some importance and interest, and the whole has been thoroughly catalogued. Among other items, I examined two MS volumes containing lives of the English martyrs, but nothing was found pertinent to our immediate quest.

Later in the day, accompanied by M. de Bailliencourt and other officials, I visited the cemetery and saw the body, which had been temporarily placed in a small mortuary. It was disposed on thick pads of medicated wool and lay on a table in a rough sort of box. The dark flesh looked damp and corrupt, and chest and stomach had fallen wide asunder : the wet here had done considerable damage. The flesh on the legs was mostly unaffected, and yielded to the pressure of one's finger ; the vertebrae of the neck were strangely askew, suggesting violence. The care-

ful way in which the body had been embalmed and tended was very striking, and though the sight was on the whole distressful, it was impossible to resist the strong conviction that one was indeed looking upon the relics of an English martyr.

The head was brought from Lille that evening and I was given an opportunity of meeting Dr. Leclercq and others who had made the first examination of the body. There were eight of us at this meeting, which took place at the Mairie, the Mayor himself being present part of the time. Asked my opinion respecting the identity of the body, I expressed the view that it was that of John Southworth, martyr, and gave what evidence I then had at my command. I was next interrogated as to the age of the martyr, and replied that according to known records he was sixty-two at the date of his death. Dr. Leclercq expressed his opinion that the age of the man whose body had been found was about forty or forty-five. The head was brought in and subjected to our examination. Dr. Leclercq drew our attention to the good condition of the teeth, and pointed out that in the hair there was not a single sign of grey or white. I asked whether this might not be due to the action of any of the materials used in the processes of embalming and he said he thought not. He asked us, too, to notice the entire absence of wrinkles in the forehead and was diffident to a suggestion that the tension of the skin and flesh might have suffered some change owing to the operation on the skull.

A point also was made of the healthy condition of the vertebræ and the state of ossification of the bones. Dr. Leclercq thought that the age was such as he stated.

At a later date he made further researches, following methods of determination described by two medical men, Bathazard and Lebrun, and reached the same conclusion. Histological research showed that the cutting off of head, ears and hands had taken place after the moment of death—a finding which in no way disturbs our own conclusions. Even granting the universal validity of the application of such age-determining tests as those put forward experimentally by Bathazard and Lebrun—a validity which is disputable—we shall see that the whole weight of external evidence is in favour of the body being that of John Southworth. Dr. Leclercq's opinion, if it could be proved to be a fact, will be found simply to shift the problem to another sphere and to open possibilities which we will consider in another place.¹

An examination of the process of embalming was kindly undertaken by M. E. Leclair, a very competent pharmacist, and he found that the embalmer (Mr. James Clark) had followed almost word for word a method of embalmment described by Philbert Guybert² in 1629. This conclusion entirely fits our facts.

¹ See *Appendix IV*.

² *Les Oeuvres du médecin charitable* (1629), p. 485 : *Le Médecin charitable enseignant la manière d'embaumer les corps morts* (1627).

After the discussion with Dr. Leclercq I returned to England, having first made arrangements for the body to be transported to Lille, where it could be scientifically dried and further decay arrested. This important work was entrusted to M. Theodore, the able Director of the *Palais des Beaux Arts* at Lille, who brought a long experience and great ability to the task : it is to his care and labours that is due the splendid condition of the body to-day.

It was hoped that a relic at Westminster Cathedral to which was attached a paper (see p. 130) mentioning a 'bone taken of ye neck of Mr. Southworth,' might settle the question of identity beyond all dispute. The relic consisted of a left clavicle in excellent condition. This I took with me on a second visit to Douay on August 4, and in the presence of M. de Bailliencourt, M. Theodore and M. Leclair, I made a second examination of the body, which was in a much better condition than when I first saw it. We were all surprised to find the left clavicle intact in the body, until M. Leclair, reading over the relic document, pointed out to us that it was not an accurate description of the relic to which it had been found attached. A clavicle, he observed, can in no way be described as a 'bone out of the neck,' and it was hardly conceivable that the surgeon would have given his friend a clavicle and described it as a 'bone out of the neck.' Nor was it likely that Mr. James Clark, working for his employers, the Howards, would have ventured to excise such an important member and give it

away as a relic. M. Leclair went on to tell us that a closer examination of the body had revealed a deep transversal cut through the neck vertebræ and part of the vertebræ of the thorax. Some parts of the neck vertebræ were missing, and perhaps it was a loose fragment of these, a 'bone out the neck,' that Mr. Clark, in cleaning and embalming the body, had given as a relic to his friend. M. Leclair's observations were confirmed by X-Ray photographs which I had arranged to be taken after my first visit to Douay, and of which we saw the negatives that afternoon. They revealed beyond all doubt that the body had been quartered. The head had been cut off probably with an axe or chopper,¹ and both legs had been similarly severed: there was a violent cut through the dorsal vertebræ, and the pelvis was irregularly broken in two: the hip-joints were not disturbed. It was easy to see where the quarters had been sewn together by Mr. James Clark.

It remains to account for the discrepancy between clavicle and written paper in the Westminster relic. One can only presume that the two got together accidentally, and that the late Father Pollen, S.J., when he was arranging and cataloguing the relics of the English Martyrs at Westminster some years ago, found the bone wrapped loosely in the paper and took it for granted that both were related. He found other

¹ A loose piece of a neck vertebra was found by M. Leclair in the body: it bears the mark of a sharp instrument such as a chopper. It is now in the possession of Cardinal Bourne.

relics wrapped up in papers which had nothing to do with them. Dom Ethelbert Horne, too, in his list of Relics of English Martyrs, has under *Southworth*, 'a small bone *probably* of this martyr, Card. Archbp. of Westminster.' This information came from Fr. John Morris, S.J., who had all the relics in hand at the time, and the 'probably' shows that even then there was some doubt as to whether the clavicle was really John Southworth's.¹

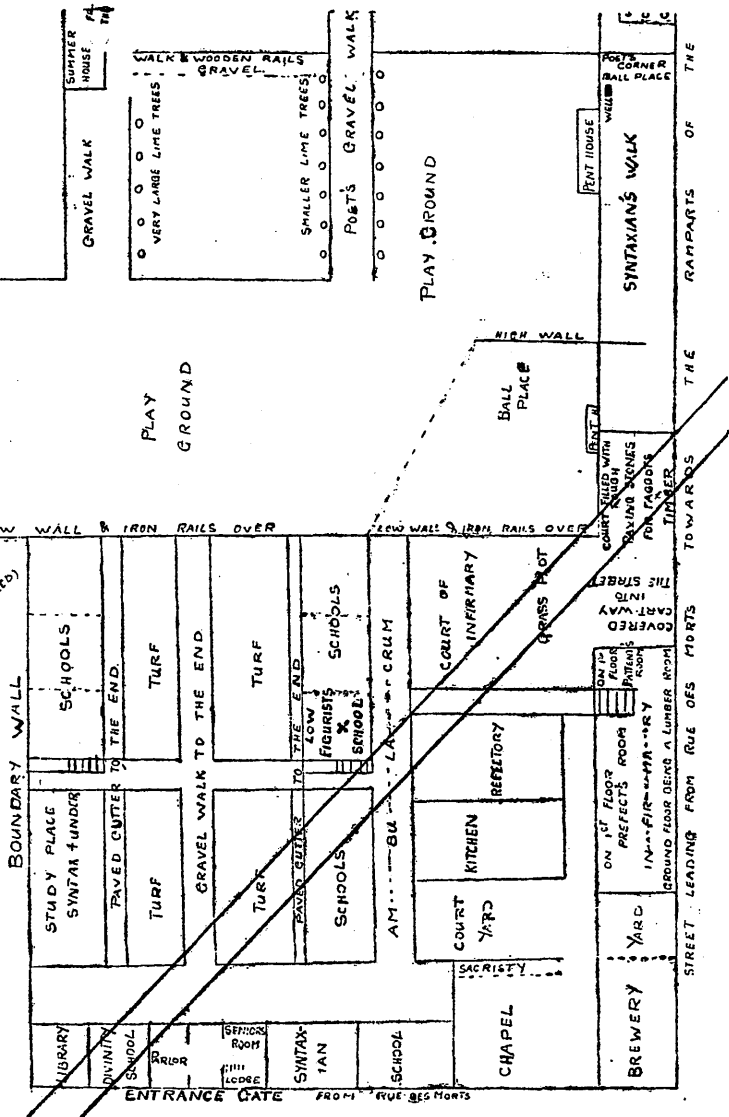
In the last (September 10, 1927) of a series of four articles which I wrote for the *Tablet* describing the discoveries at Douay and the progress of my researches, I expressed the lively hope that we might 'find Fr. Stout's rough plan of the burials, which in view of our definite knowledge of the place where the relics of St. Thomas and St. Charles were hidden, may show incontestably that the coffin is really that of "the priest named Southworth."' While this article was in the hands of the printer, I received a communication from Fr. J. S. Marron, O.S.B., now Prior of Douai Abbey, Woolhampton, informing me that his community possessed in their archives copies of the documents used by the 1863 Commission, in which, as we have seen, the Benedictines played a great part, and that among these documents was Fr. Stout's plan: this I have already placed before the reader (p. 143). The information brought me post-haste to Douai Abbey, where I discovered to my joy that the details of Fr. Stout's plan were entirely consonant with the plan of the actual finds

¹ For this fact I am indebted to Dom Bede Camm, O.S.B.

which I had made public some four weeks previously. If the reader refers to that plan (p. 161), he will see that I indicated with a dotted line the relative positions of the body and the box of relics. It is almost a freakish coincidence that Fr. Stout should also have indicated by a dotted line the same relative position.

At Douai Abbey also I found a copy of a plan made by a Mr. J. W. Barrett, who was a student at the College in 1793. It will be remembered that Bishop Douglass speaks of 'Mr. Southworth's body in the kilns exactly in the middle—6ft. deep': Fr. Stout's plan, too, shows the body in the kilns, and it also shows adjacent structural features, e.g. Infirmary wall, Gateway, Syntaxian's corner, Faggot's room. Mr. Barrett's plan shows most of these features, and enables us to settle satisfactorily the important point that the spot shown by Fr. Stout is identical with the spot where the body and the relics were actually found on July 15-16, 1927. On Mr. Barrett's plan I have indicated the position of the new road.

The remains of the martyr rested at Lille in the charge of M. Theodore for nearly five months, and during that time, thanks to his unfailing solicitude, no pains nor expense were spared to secure their continued preservation and to restore the body as near as possible to the condition in which it left the hands of James Clark and to the appearance it must have had when it first lay exposed in the little chapel at Douay College. In the meantime the necessary formalities were



PLAN OF DOUAY COLLEGE, 1793.

(By J. W. BARRETT.)

exchanged between the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster, the French *Affaires Etrangères* and our own Foreign Office, and at last permission was granted to transfer the remains to England.

On December 20, 1927, the body of Blessed John Southworth was handed over to me as the representative of the Cardinal by the French authorities—intact except for the ^{right} right forearm and the left clavicle, which at the earnest prayer of the Archbishop of Cambrai were left at Douay as precious memorials of the great English College which for three hundred years was an ornament of hospitable Flanders and a glory of the Faith throughout the Catholic world.

The last to say farewell, as he had been the first to give a welcome, was M. de Bailliencourt, to whose unfailing courage and indomitable perseverance, to whose devotion and *pietas*, Catholic England ultimately owes the restoration of her holy Martyr. May Blessed John favour him abundantly for this crowning service in a long life of unselfish labour in the cause of our holy religion !

I travelled by rail to Calais and crossed by the passenger-boat, with none on board conscious of the sacred burden : from Dover I proceeded by road to London, and thence to St. Edmund's College, Ware, which with Ushaw is the lineal descendant of Douay on English soil.

There, in the great College that links the venerable traditions of past Douay to the living life of the present, Blessed John Southworth for the moment rests in a little room consecrated to

the memorials ¹ of his old *alma mater*. It is proposed that his body shall be translated in the near future to Westminster Cathedral, where it will find a fitting shrine in the very midst of London, where the martyr lived so many years of his priestly life and whose poor he loved with all his heart.

In his dying speech at Tyburn, he pleaded for 'the poor distressed Catholics I leave behind me'; and we who have lived to see the centenary of our Emancipation must always remember with deep thankfulness that the men who made possible our Catholic England of to-day were Englishmen of the stamp of Blessed John Southworth, priest and martyr.

¹ The *Douay Room*, where are numerous relics of the martyrs, part of the Douay plate found in 1863, and the biretta of St. Charles discovered with the martyr's body in 1927.

APPENDIX I

Entries in the Third Douay Diary, referring to Blessed John Southworth

1613. Die 14 Julii. . . . Eodem etiam die receptus est in Collegium ut convictor Joannes Southworthus, Lancastrensis, hic dictus Lee.
1614. Die 24 Maii. . . . Eodem die primam tonsuram susceperunt . . . Joannes Southworthus.
1615. Die 29 Decembris praestito Collegii juramento recepti sunt in alumnos Mr. Joannes Southworthus. . . .
1616. Die 26 Aprilis anno Domini 1616. Cui attestationi in hunc modum subscripserunt. . . . Ego Joannes Leus contestor Deum me non aliter sentire de pretensae fidelitatis juramento quam supradicti sentiunt, scilicet quod sit erroneum, damnabile, execrabile, et in se includens apertam perjuriam, execrorque etiam Widdringtoni opinionem. Neque ullum fautorem illius opinionis in hoc collegio cognosco . . . omnes supradicti respective affirmarunt quod ipsimet nomina sua ut supra scripserunt. Solus Joannes Leus non aderat, at reliqui tamen asserebant ipsum nomen suam (sic) manu propria scripsisse, et quod omnia suprascripta veritatem contineant. . . . Die 3 Maii in Angliam profectus est valetudinis recuperandae gratia Mr. Joannes Lee (alias Southworth) theologus primi anni.
1617. Die 25 Martii. . . . eodem etiam die ex Anglia

reversus est Mr. Joannes Lee (alias Southworth) theologus, qui eo superiori anno profectus fuerat valetudinis recuperandae gratia.

Die ultima Septembris in die Sti Hieronimi Mr. Joannes Lee (alias Southworth) Ostiarius.

Primo die Octobris qui in Dominicam incidit ab eodem Cameraci ordinati sunt . . . Mr. Joannes Lee (alias Southworth) lector.

2^o die Octobris Mr. Joannes Lee (alias Southworth), qui solus Cameraci remansit, ad ordinem Ostiariatus promotus est

3^o Octobris Mr. Joannes Lee (alias Southworth) ordinatus est ab eodem Acolythus.

1618. 31^o Martii . . . Mr. Joannes Leus (alias Southworth) . . . ibidem a praedicto sacrum subdiaconatus ordinem sunt adepti.

8^o Aprilis . . . Eodem die Dominica videlicet Palmarum ibidem ab eodem promoti sunt ad ordines hi infrascripti . . . Mr. Joannes Leus (alias Southworth) . . . ad diaconatum sunt promoti.

14^o Aprilis . . . Dns Joannes Lee (alias Southworth) . . . ab Illmo ac Rmo Dno Dno Francisco Van der Burch sacerdotes sunt ordinati ipso Sabbato Sancto.

15^o Aprilis ipso Paschatis die . . . Dns Joannes Leus (alias Southworth) magno cum affectu resurgenti Domino primitias suas obtulerunt.

1619. 28^o Junii D. Joannes Lee (alias Southworth) sacerdos, postquam tres paene annos in studiis theologicis insumsisset a nobis recessit ut monasticam vitam secundum regulam Sti Benedicti capesceret.

13^o Decembris Rdus Dns Joannes Southworthus (hic Leus) hujus Collegii alumnus atque sacerdos, cursu theologico jam completo a Rdo Dno

Praeside in vineam Anglicanam cum facultatibus ordinarii lucrandarum animarum gratia destinatur.

1624. 24^o Martii ex Anglia venit Dns Joannes Southworthus (hic dictus Leus) hujus Collegii sacerdos nobiscum ad tempus remansurus.

29^o Julii, Dns Joannes Southworth (hic dictus Leus) Bruxellas perrexit, ubi non ita post in monasterio monialium Sti Benedicti confessarii munus explevit.

APPENDIX II

A

Approbation of the Relic of the Hair-Shirt of St. Thomas of Canterbury. (*Third Douay Diary*, p. 212).

Hermannnus, Dei et Apostolicae Sedis gratia, Episcopus Atrebatensis venerabilibus ac piis viris Mathaeo Kellisono, Sacrae Theologiae Doctori, Praesidi, aliisque presbiteris atque alumni Seminarii Anglorum Duaceni, Salutem in eo, qui est vera salus. Macte animo macte virtute Anglicanorum nobilissime ac gloriosissime caetus, qui tam illustri militiae nomen dedisti ut Felicis Recordationis Cardinalis Baronii verbis ad vos habitis utar; Cilicium acerrimum praeclarissimi Martiris S^{ti} Thomae Cantuariensis, quo illum corpus edomuisse et ad Martirii coronam viam praeparasse, gravissimi authores prodiderunt, certa traditione per manus diversorum Dei sacerdotum non sine Dei ordinatione in vestram possessionem pervenisse accepimus, et gratulamur. Quare non solum vobis permittimus, verum etiam in Domino hortamur, ut illud omni pietate atque honore tractetis, atque fidelium etiam venerationi in Sacello vestro publice proponatis; quod ut majore cum fructu spirituali fiat, omnibus Christi fidelibus qui coram his sacris reliquiis pro Orthodoxae et Catholicae fidei propagatione, ac errorum extirpatione Deum oraverint atque intercessionem hujus martiris imploraverint, concedimus Indulgentiam quadraginta dierum pro qualibet die in forma Ecclesiae consueta. In quorum fidem praesentes per infrascriptum

Secretarium nostrum fieri, et sygilli nostri quo in talibus utimur jussimus appensione muniri.

Datum in Palatio nostro Episcopali Atrebatensi :
Anno Domini Millesimo sexcentissimo vigesimo tertio,
mensis Julii die decima.

Subscriptum est

De mandato praefati R^{mi} Dⁿⁱ Episcopi
Atrebatensis

Hemeuneurs.¹

B

The Biretta of St. Charles Borromeo. (*Third Douay
Diary*, pp. 218–219).

I.

Declaration of the Rev. Thomas Harley.

Anno Domini 1616 die 22 mensis Julii. Ego infrascriptus Thomas Harleyus, Ecclesiae Collegiatae S^{ti} Gaugerici Cameracensis Canonicus ac Praepositus testor biretum S^{ti} Caroli Boromei, quod reliqui in depositum in Collegio Anglorum Duacensi ad me pervenisse, per manus admodum R^{di} Dⁿⁱ Hugonis Griffonii, Ecclesiae Metropolitanae Cameracensis Praepositi defuncti, qui ipse dictum biretum a R^{mo} D^{no} D^{no} Audoeni Cassenensi Episcopo avunculo suo, in cujus brachiis dictus sanctus Carolus animam exhalavit, dum erat ipsius vicarius generalis, acceperat. In cujus rei fidem nomen meum propria mea manu subscripsi, anno ac die suprascriptis.

Thomas Harleius.

¹ Possibly J. Lemeuneurs.

2.

Approbation of the Bishop of Arras.

Hermannus Ottemburgus Dei et Apostolicae gratia Episcopi Atrebatensis. Cum fideles in Ecclesia non solum crucem, clavos, et vestimenta propter contactum Salvatoris nostri adoraverint; verum etiam sanctorum, qui Spiritus Sancti vasa fuerunt, reliquiis et inter illas vestimentis, eum, quem par est, honorem semper habuerint: magna cum animi laetitia vidi, et, licet indignus, contrectavi et osculatus sum sacrum Tegmen rubeum Biretum Cardinalitium ut vocant, quod Sanctissimi Cardinalis Caroli Boromæi verticem contextit, quodque quasi per manus Rev^{mi} bonae memoriae Audoeni Cassanensis Episcopi, in cujus brachiis idem sanctus animam exhalavit quo tempore vicarium generalem Mediolani agebat; et deinde Hugonis Griffonii, nepotis, Ecclesiae Metropolitanae Cameracensis Praepositi, ac successive Thomae Harleii Ecclesiae Collegiatae S^d Gaugerici Canonici ac Praepositi, demum ad Collegium Anglorum Duaci dioecesis nostrae Atrebatensi, non sine divina Providentia pervenisse credendum est. Quare hujusmodi tegmen in sacello ejusdem Collegii asservari ac fidelibus in honorem tanti Sancti venerationi exponi in Domino permittimus. Harum testimonio literarum sigilli nostri impressione munitarum. Datum Atrebatu in Palatio nostro Episcopali, Anno Domini millesimo sexcentesimo decimo sexto, mensis Augusti vigesima prima.

Subscriptum

Locus sigilli.

De mandato R^m Dⁿ

Laureten

Secretarius.

APPENDIX III

Status Catholicæ Religionis in Anglia circa Finem Anni 1632

Ex quo Anglia amisit Catholicam fidem, nunquam fuit ita disposita ad eam recipiendam ac modo est, sive consideremus Regem, Reginam, consiliarios regis, pseudo-Episcopos Angliae, sive populum aut ipsos Catholicos. Nam Rex est natura clemens et benignus, et praeter heresim in qua educatus est, nulli vitio obnoxius; et, ut referunt illi qui inquisierant, solet mane horam impendere in oratione flexis genibus et ut dixit Reginae nollet eam mutare suam religionem neque odio habet Catholicos, ut aperte professus est cuidem Catholico. Praeterea alit conventum capucinarum in suo Palatio ac confert magnam summam pecuniae ad aedificandam pro eis Capellam et aggreditur reparare Cathedralē Ecclesiam Londinensem. Maximum scandalum quod concepit contra Catholicam Religionem est (prout ipsemet dixit cuidam magnati Catholico) quod cum fuit in Hispania intellexerit Garnettum Jesuitem quem (ut sciebat) tota Anglia testis est fuisse morte affectum ob pulverariam conjurationem, depingi ac jactari tanquam martyrem. Maximum autem impedimentum amplectendi Catholicam Religionem putatur illi esse quod censeat ignominiosum esse homini mutare religionem, ac quemque Christianum salvare posse in religione quam profitetur. Regina ipsa est constantissima in Catholica fide, cujus rei optimum testimonium exhibuit eo praecipue tempore quo omnes Galli pulsī sunt ab ea,

relictis tantum duobus presbyteris. Quandoque etiam dixit suo Confessario se nunquam sensisse vel levissimam tentationem circa religionem suam ac sensisse consolationem quam nunquam antea experta fuerat; singulis primis Dominicis mensium, atque etiam intercurrentibus festis solemnioribus, devote communicat ac confitetur, et quoties habetur contio attente auscultat neque unquam omisit audire sacrum ullo die, ex quo venit in Angliam nisi ipsis diebus sui puerperii. Saepius egit cum rege pro procuranda aliqua libertate pro Catholicis et quorundam sacerdotum qui pro fide ad mortem damnata fuerant, vitam ab ipso impetravit. Et cum regina tenerrime ametur a Rege ac sciamus non solum Angliae sed etiam multos alios reges conversos esse a Paganismo per suas uxores, non videtur esse ullum medium humanum aptius aut efficacius ad procurandam conversionem regis quam per reginam, nempe si ipsa ad hoc a sua S^{te} incitetur, atque animetur frequentibus litteris et munisculis, prout legimus fuisse S. Gregorium magnum erga Bertam Reginam Angliae. Neque quicquam est unde Haeretici Angliae putant majus periculum impendere suae religioni quam a regina neque quicquam quod magis retundet aciem persecutionis. Quoad Consiliarios Regis, nunquam fuerunt tot ex consilio privato, qui creduntur tum a Catholicis tum ab haereticis, esse animo Catholici, utpote quorum partim uxores partim filii partim fratres et affines sunt professi Catholici. Atque hi ipsi sunt quorum consilio rex maxime utitur. Quoad pseudo-Episcopos etiam Angliae nunquam tot fuerunt qui habentur animo Catholici; quorum aliqui incipiunt confirmare pueros, erigere altaria et imagines et cereos, ornare ac reparare cruces. Ac nominatim Ep^{us} Londinensis is est cujus consilio in rebus ecclesiasticis rex patissimum ducitur. Plurimi etiam Haeretici nuper mulctati sunt eo quod ederint carnes die boni [?] veneris quae quanto animo ab ipsis . . . [text illegible] viam faciunt ad introducen-

dam Catholicam Religionem et ad reducendam plebem. Quoad Catholicos nunquam fuerunt plures vel ex magnatibus vel ex populo, et constanter adhaerent fidei Catholicae, ac nuper permulti eorum convenerunt cum rege de solvenda illi annua mulcta, per quod nacti sunt plusculum libertatis et securitatis et reliqui omnes putantur fidem facturi. Quoad haereticos ipsos, ii sunt partim Protestantes partim etiam Puritani sed multo pauciores numero. Protestantes sequuntur religionem quam Rex praescribit, Puritani fere jam nauseant de sua religione et incipiunt dubitare de illius stabilitate in Anglia ac timent futuram mutationem vel ad Papismum vel saltem ad Arminianismum quem multi ministri amplectantur. Quare si autoritate sedis Ap^{lica} constitueretur pax inter ipsos Catholicos Anglos et stabileretur Ep^{alis} autoritas, disciplina sanciretur et facies quaedam Ecclesiae in Anglia renovaretur, propediem optime operari posset de conversione Angliae. Pax autem haec facile constitui posset a Sua S^{te} duobus modis. Primo, jubendo Generales ordinum regularium ut imperent suis in Anglia ut observent quicquid in hanc finem decretum fuerit a Sua S^{te}. Hoc modo nuper reducti sunt ad pacem et concordiam cum Episcopo Chalcedonensi et clero, dominicani a suo Generali, misso in hunc finem uno ex suis fratribus in Angliam. Atque hic modus ut est suavissimus, ita esset et efficacissimus et optimus. Secundus modus est ut Sua S^{tas} det Ep^o potestatem tollendi facultates omnibus sacerdotibus regularibus aut secularibus qui repugnant ordini quem Sua S^{tas} constituet. Quo facto opus illis erit vel parere vel relinquere Angliam; quia nisi habeant facultates ministrandi Sacramenta, a laicis Catholicis non alentur et cum reditus non habeant aut abeundum illis erit aut succumbendum. Et si qui (ut loquitur Cyprianus) tanquam leves paleae ex horreo dominico avolarent purior seges remaneret, ac pax et disciplina multorum proferenda esset ruina paucorum. Sane memorabilis est sententia

S. Thomae Cantuariensis in simili tumultu; non est regenda Ecclesia ingenio aut prudentia humana, sed institutione Christi qui posuit Ep^{us} regere ecclesiam suam et sub quorum regimine potius quam sub ulla Anarchia operanda Benedictio divina.

APPENDIX IV

Further Remarks on the Question of Identity.

If Dr. Leclercq's opinion concerning the age of the body found in its leaden shell were right, then certainly the body could not be the body of Blessed John Southworth.

At the same time, whatever Dr. Leclercq's opinion may be, the body found is certainly that which all our known witnesses from 1656 until 1793 believed to be the body of Blessed John Southworth, and it is established now, I think, that the body discovered on July 15, 1927, is the body that Father Stout buried on May 4, 1793.

If Dr. Leclercq were right, then only one conclusion would be admissible, and that is that after the execution on June 28, 1654, a body other than that of John Southworth's came into the hands of the Howards, was embalmed by James Clark, sent to Douay, and exposed to public view in the Chapel there. Surely such a possibility is inconceivable! John Southworth was a well-known figure in Catholic circles in London, and if a great family like the Howards was sufficiently interested in him to secure his body at some danger to themselves, it would be equally interested to see that no mistake or fraud was committed in the matter of identity. The face of the martyr even to-day, after all the mischances it has passed through, is realistic, and if one had known the living man

it would not be hard to recognise his true and living features. How much more so to his *friends* in 1654! We may be sure that many of his fellow-priests in London saw his body after (if not before) it came into the hands of the Howards, as many of his fellow-priests saw it later exposed in the 'little roome' at Douay. There must have been scores who looked upon his face in the immediate years following his martyrdom. Was it any other but John Southworth's face? Never a suggestion of doubt has been recorded, because there never was any doubt.

I understand that a fanciful theory has been put forward by a French student at Douay that the remains found in 1927 might be those of Blessed Edmund Catherick, martyred at York in 1642 (see p. 97), and the theory is based on a remark made by one Théodore Pouppart in a book which he published at Douay in 1668.¹ In this is given an inventory of relics to be found in the different religious houses of the town, and of the English College he writes: *et celuy des Prêtres Anglois prez S. Jacques le Cilice de S. Thomas de Cantorbery avec lequel il souffrit le martyre : le Corps entier de Monsieur Jean Southwardus et de Monsieur Catarick qui furent les Enfants de ce Collège, avant qu' être frères de Jésus Christ par le martyre.*

The statement is definite enough, but there is every reason for supposing it is wrong. In the first place Chalonier would hardly have neglected to tell us of so important a fact in his memoir of Blessed Edmund Catherick, nor would the other English authorities who speak of the presence of John Southworth's body at Douay, have omitted to make some mention of the equally important relic of Edmund Catherick, had his body also been at the College. As a matter of fact, the 'body' of Blessed

¹ *Les victoires de la Milice Chrestienne dans la déroute de ses soldats ou les prospéitez de l'Eglise dans les adversitez de ses Martyrs, etc.*

Edmund Catherick is at Downside Abbey, according to the following notice of Dom Bede Camm, O.S.B.¹

The Benedictines of Downside Abbey possess one of the grandest collections of English martyr relics. Besides those already mentioned, they have the mutilated quarters of V. John Lockwood, O.S.B. (a confrater), and V. Edmund Catherick (York, April 13, 1642). These were rescued by Mary Poyntz, the faithful companion and successor of Mary Ward, and carried over to her convent at Augsburg. Here they remained, hidden beneath the altar in the infirmary, and almost forgotten, until they were obtained from the nuns by one of the monks of Downside, and joyfully translated to their splendid church.

The *Catholic Encyclopædia* informs us that 'the skull, said to have been found at Hazlewood Castle, was carefully examined by Lingard in 1845.'

It is evident, then, that the body found in a leaden shell in July 1927 is not the body of Blessed Edmund Catherick.

We know of no martyr other than Blessed John Southworth whose whole remains ever came to Douay College, nor of any other such burial as his at the time of the Revolution.

¹ *Dublin Review*, Oct., 1901. *Relics of the English Martyrs*.

APPENDIX V

Relics of Blessed John Southworth Extant Before the Discovery of the Body in 1927

1. An unidentified relic at Westminster Cathedral, described in the document noticed on pp. 129, 169-170.
2. A piece of linen dipped in the martyr's blood, at Manresa, Roehampton.
3. A similar piece of linen at Farm Street.
4. Tape from the leaden coffin, at Downside and East Bergholt Convent (see pp. 136-7).
5. A relic 'de carne P. Joannis Sutherne' in the Convent of Mt. Carmel, Chichester, may probably be of Blessed John Southworth.

NOTE.—*The crown of the head and the left hand, which were not found with the body, were probably kept in England as relics before the body was sent to Douay. The right hand or 'benediction hand,' was perhaps cast into the executioner's fire at Tyburn?*

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